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THE SECOND PART
OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

THE WORKS
OF
SHAKESPEARE

THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH

EDITED BY
H. C. HART

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INTRODUCTION

THE text of *2 Henry VI.* as here presented, is that of the first Folio (1623); with a few very slight, but not unimportant emendations due to the play on which it is founded: The | First Part of The Con | tention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of Yorke | and Lancaster, with the death of the good | Duke Humphrey: | And the banishment and death of the Duke of | Suffolke, and the tragicall end of the proud Cardinall | of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion | of Iacke Cade: | And the Duke of Yorkes first claime unto the | Crowne. [T. C.'s device and motto] LONDON. Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington, | and are to be sold at his shop under Saint Peters | church in Cornwall | 1594. |

As I have collated the *Contention* (Q 1) into the Folio text, collation with the late Folios became impossible. It is, however, needless, and in the very few instances where an interesting reading arises from the later Folios it is noticed in the notes, or intended to be so.

A second edition of the Quarto appeared in 1600, "Printed by Valentine Simms for Thomas Millington." Otherwise the titles are the same. This is a careless reprint of the first edition with unimportant variations.

A third edition (Q 3) appeared, undated, in 1619. It was printed by Isaac Jeffard, and included The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York. It was titled: The | Whole Contention | betweene the two Famous | Houses, Lancaster and | Yorke. | With the tragicall ends of the good Duke | Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, | and King Henrie the | Sixt. | Divided into two parts: And newly corrected and | enlarged. Written by William Shakespeare, Gent. | Printed at London for T. P. |

The words at the end of this title are catchpenny insertions

of T. P.'s (Thomas Pavier), who has been called the pirate publisher. They are said to be no proof of Shakespeare's hand in this Quarto. But this third edition contains four main changes and a considerable number of smaller changes from Q 1. They all tend to be real corrections or improvements, and their tendency leads to the belief that the publisher had access to some material, whether manuscripts or player's copies, which was that from which the Folio text was printed. They are preliminary indications of the forthcoming authorised versions of *Henry VI.* Parts II. and III. Furnivall, who summarised and examined these changes carefully in the facsimile reprint of 1619, Q 1, thinks that none of them are due at first hand to Shakespeare. And Miss Jane Lee coincides. Furnivall's words *on the title-page* of the facsimile reprint " (Q 1 having been revised by Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Greene into 'The second part of Henry the Sixt') " are, in my humble opinion, very regrettable in such a position. It is obvious that a number of them are merely common-sense corrections of misprints, but their consideration has no place here. However, they emphasise one all-important fact, and that is the badness of the state of the text of Q 1, the text collated into this edition. It abounds in three sorts of mistakes—mistakes in spelling, errors against simplest grammar and misdivision of lines to the destruction of poetic reading.

I think it is well to ponder on this for a second. It implies that when Shakespeare worked out, with or without help, the final state of *2 Henry VI.* from *The Contention,* he had a better state of that latter text to work on than any we now possess. Probably it was his own manuscript copy. Surely this is more than admissible—it is most probable. It enables one to explain away some anomalous discrepancies between the two printed states if we keep before the memory the phantom of this better text of Q 1 in the worker's hands.

The consideration of the texts is a comparatively simple matter, and in view of the amount of work called for in some shape or other in this Introduction no more need be said about them, but more will appear from time to time in matters of detail. I will give you a sketch-plan here of the matters I propose to deal with, which are by no means of equal importance.

I. Robert Greene's Attack on Shakespeare (and Others) in 1592.

"Greene's Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentaunce. Describing the follie of Youth, the falsehoode of makeshift flatterers, the miserie of the negligent, and mischiefes of deceiving Courtesans. Written before his death, and published at his dying request."—was written in 1592 and published immediately afterwards by his friend Henry Chettle, in the same year, the year of Greene's death. It is practically an autobiography of Roberto, *i.e.*, Robert Greene. I am using here Grosart's edition of Greene's works which prints the tract from the 1596 edition, in vol. xii. The edition of 1596 is the earliest now known: but as Chettle's *Kind Harts Dream* alludes to the book, and was registered in December 1592, Greene's tract must have been printed before that date. Attention was first directed to this important passage by Tyrwhitt in 1766 according to Grant White. At 137 he says: "Heere (gentlemen) breake I off Robertos speech whose life in most parts agreeing with mine, found one selfe punishment as I haue doone. Heereafter suppose me the said Roberto, and I will go on with that hee promised: Greene will send you now his groatsworth of wit, that neuer shewed a mitesworth in his life . . . (p. 139): Learne wit by my repentance (gentlemen) and . . . (p. 141): to my fellow Schollers about this Cittie, will I direct these few ensuing lines. *To those Gentlemen his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, and wisdome to preuent his extremities.* If woefull experience may mooue you (Gentlemen) to beware, or vnheard of wretchednes intreate you to take heed: I doubt not but you will looke backe with sorrow on your time past, and endeuour with repentance to spend that which is to come. Wonder not (for with thee wil I first (p. 142) begin), thou famous gracer of Tragedians, that Greene, who hath said with thee like the foole in his heart, There is no God, should now giue glorie vnto his greatnesse: for penitrating is his power, his hand lies heauie vpon me, he hath spoken vnto me with a voice of thunder, and I haue felt he is a God that can punish enemies. Why should thy excellent wit, his gift, be so blinded, that thou shouldst give no glory to the giuer? Is it

pestilent Machiuilian follie that thou hast studied? O punish follie! What are his rules but meere confused mockeries, able to extirpate in small time, the generation of mankinde. For if *Sic volo, sic jubeo*, hold in those that are able to command; and if it be lawfull, *Fas & nefas* to doe any thing that is beneficiall, onely Tyrants should possesse the earth and they striuing to exceede in tyranny, should each to other bee a slaughter man: till the mightiest outliuing all, one stroke were left for Death, that in one age man's life should ende. The brother of this Diabolicall Atheisme is dead, and in his life had neuer the felicitie he aimed at . . . (6 lines) and wilt thou my friend (143) be his Disciple? Looke vnto me, by him perswaded to that libertie and thou shalt finde it an infernal bondage . . . (6 lines).

"With thee I ioyne young Iuvenall, that byting Satyrist, that lastlie with mee together writ a comedie. Sweete boy, might I aduise thee, be aduised, and get not many enemies by bitter words . . . (5 lines) treade on a worme and it will turne: then blame not schollers vexed with sharpe lines if they reproue thy too much libertie of reproofe.

"And thou no lesse deseruing then the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour; driuen (as my selfe) to extreame shifts, a little have I to say to thee; and were it not an idolatrous oth, I would sweare by sweet S. George, thou art unworthie better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base minded men al three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned: for vnto none of you (like me) (144) sought those burres to cleaue: those Puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whome they all haue beene beholding: is it not like that you, to whom they al haue beene beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes trust them not: for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute Iohannes factotum, is in his owne conceit the only Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare wits to be imployed in more profitable courses: & let those Apes imitate your past excellence, and neuer more acquaint them with your admired in-

uentions. I know the best husband of you all will neuer proue an Usurer, and the kindest of them all will neuer prooue a kinde nurse; yet whilst you may, seeke you better Maisters; for it is pittie men of such rare wits, should be subiect to the pleasures of such rude groomes.

"In this I might insert two more, that both haue writ against these buckram Gentlemen: but let their owne works serue to witnesse against their owne wickednesse, if they perseuer to mainteine any more such peasants. For other new commers, I leaue (145) them to the mercie of these painted monsters, who (I doubt not) will driue the best minded to despise them: for the rest it skils not though they make a ieast at them.

"But now returne I againe to you three, knowing my miserie is to you no news: and let me heartily intreate you to bee warned by my harmes . . . (20 lines). Trust not then (I beseech yee) (146) to such weake staies: for they are as changeable in minde, as in many attires. Well, my hand is tired and I am forst to leaue where I would begin; for a whole booke cannot containe these wrongs, which I am forst to knit vp in some few lines of words. *Desirous that you should liue, though himselfe be dying, Robert Greene.*"

II. What this attack on Shakespeare means: with Contemporary References to it: and views of some Critics.

The three quondam acquaintances that spend their wits in making plays, are Marlowe, Nashe and Peele. Marlowe is obvious. Nashe is called Juvenal by Meres and others of the time; Dyce (followed by Fleay) believed the biting satirist was Lodge, because of his having written with Greene *A Looking Glasse for London*, and because of his satires *A Fig for Momus*. But Lodge was abroad at this time and his satires have not any bite, like Nashe's. The weight of evidence is in favour of Nashe, I think, but the question is not vital here. The play may be one of the many unknown, or unidentified. There is more reason to place Lodge as one of the two buckram gentlemen.

The third acquaintance is Peele, "Sweet S. George" gives evidence enough of that identification. This tirade of Greene's against the players should be read in connection with words of

his (on pages 136, 137) immediately preceding the above extract. He describes himself there as "liuing in extreame pouerty, and hauing nothing to pay but chalke, which now his Host accepted not for currant, the miserable man lay languishing, hauing but one groat left." The unhappy man had been depending on monies from the sale of his plays—from the actors and their companies—and he can get no more. His bitterness is levelled against his paymasters and their profession, and in advising his friends Marlowe, Nashe (or Lodge) and Peele to be no longer heholding to them, incidentally he levels his animosity against Shakespeare (Shake-scene), a successful actor, who had the audacity to write blank verse himself, and who beautified himself with the feathers of all three of them. He can do anything this upstart crow, or Johannes factotum, whether it is to act plays or to write them. So far the inferences are easy. But whether the words "beautified with your feathers" mean acting in our plays, or mean that in his writings he (Shakespeare) made use of theirs (or of their titbits) is more conjectural. Probably Greene means the latter implied in the former—that is to say he means both. After these words, he clinches his reference to Shakespeare by quoting in a parody a line from *The True Tragedy* (also in *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 137): "O tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide." A speech undoubtedly by Shakespeare in both those places, and quoted (or parodied) as *his* by Greene.

Greene is evidently incensed with the whole crew of them, but especially angry and jealous against Shakespeare. He has a much more ill-omened crow than Æsop's to pluck with our "gentle Willie." We get at least a limit of date for *The True Tragedy* (it is fresh in Greene's memory in 1592): and we might fairly infer that the play in which it occurs is an especially sore subject, whether from its success or because it contains his feathers. Or we might go a step further in the latter inference and let the part include the whole, and not unfairly conceive that Greene was enraged at the success of the whole trilogy (now finished so far as Part I., Contention, and True Tragedy are concerned, for certain—and probably so far as Parts I. II. and III.). But these can only be inferences. Yet there hangs on to Greene's tract a little more contemporary matter that must be now looked into.

In "a lytel plaunflet" by R. B. Gent., 1594, in the Bodleian Library, there is the following passage, the ninth "sonnet" in the tract:—

> Greene is the pleasing of an eie:
> Greene pleasde the eies of all that lookt vpon him.
> Greene is the ground of euerie Painters die,
> Greene gaue the ground to all that wrote vpon him,
> Nay more, the men that so eclipst his fame
> Purloyned his plumes, can they deny the same.

This is confirmation of the inference that Shakespeare was accused by Greene of having plagiarised from him, purloined Greene's plumes and beautified himself with his feathers. Others are included in the charge here, just as Greene added the other three to those purloined from. At this date, 1592, it must be remembered, Shakespeare had produced (besides *Henry VI.*) *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *The Comedy of Errors*—these plays may therefore also contain some of the plumes. No doubt they do, but trifling affairs. Greene meant something serious. However, "R. B. Gent." reads to me like an importunate partisan, echoing Greene's words, of no weight in himself. And is there not something grotesque in Greene's daring to accuse another writer of plagiarism, if he does so? Greene, who in his tales insets many pages word for word from another writer, without a trace of acknowledgment except the self-convicting one in change of style—that other writer being Thomas Bowes' translation of Peter de la Primaudaye's *French Academy?*—to say nothing of yet other writers. I hardly think he can have made the charge seriously (such proceedings being deemed quite usual at the time), but that his invective against Shakespeare arose from jealousy and a depleted purse. No doubt if he considered the latter arose from an unfair use of his own work in the dramatic market, plagiarism became a different sort of sin altogether. In that feeling, which is hard to read into the wording, he may have written. At best, excepting with regard to the history of these plays, the passage is a poor exhibition of personal grudging and ill-will.

Upon publishing Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, Chettle wrote an introduction "To the Gentlemen Readers" to his *Kind Harts Dreame* (Dec. 1592) containing the following

passage (*New Shakespeare Society*, 1874, p. 37). He is a prosy writer, and to be curtailed: "It hath beene a custome, gentlemen . . . to begin an Exordium to the Readers. . . . To obserue custome, . . . Ile shew reason for my present writing, and after proceed to sue for pardon. About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene, leauing many papers in sundry Booke sellers hands, among others his Groatsworth of wit, in which a letter written to diuers play-makers, is offensively by one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be auenged, they wilfully gorge in their conceits a liuing Author: and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy; but it must light on me. How I haue all the time of my conuersing in printing hindred the bitter inueying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prooue. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them, I care not if I neuer be: The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I haue moderated the heate of liuing writers, and might haue usde my owne discretion (especially in such a case) the Author being dead, that I did not I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because my selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that approues his Art. For the first, whose learning I reuerence, and at the perusing of Greene's Booke, stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ: or had it been true, yet to publish it was intollerable: him I would wish to use me no worse than I deserue. I had onely in the copy this share: it was il written, as sometimes Greene's hand was none of the best: licened it must be, ere it could bee printed, which could neuer be if it might not be read. To be briefe, I writ it ouer; and as neare as I could, followed the copy; onely in that letter I put something out, but in the whole booke not a worde in; for I protest it was all Greene's, not mine nor Maistre Nashe's, as some uniustly haue affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an epistle to the second part of Gerileon, though by the Workemans error T. N., were set to the end; that I confesse to be mine and repent it not. Thus gentle-

men, hauing noted the priuate causes that made me nominate my selfe in print; being as well to purge Master Nashe of that he did not, as to iustifie that I did, and with all to confirme what M. Greene did: I beseech ye accept the publike cause . . . under the Title of Kind-hearts Dreame. . . . Henrie Chettle."

In this valuable testimony to Shakespeare's merits, Chettle defends him against dishonest dealing, which can only refer to Greene's suggestion that he had made an unjustifiable use of his (Greene's) material. That is to say, he defends him as being incapable of such conduct. Both Marlowe and Shakespeare had evidently complained to Chettle, or of Chettle for publishing the *Groatsworth*, and both had sufficient cause. But Chettle deals with Shakespeare's complaint, as though he was one of the play writers to whom Greene's letter was written, and this is not the case. Shakespeare does not come in that way at all, but quite collaterally, and expressly as an actor who also wrote. I suppose this is Chettle's inaccuracy with no further meaning. Chettle did not hear that Peele complained nor had he any reason to. Chettle's anxiety to purge Nashe of having been the writer of the *Groatsworth*, is taken as an argument by Malone and others, against his being the Juvenal in the piece—since he could not have been thought to have been the writer, if part of it had been addressed professedly to himself. This is too laboured. Those who thought it by Nashe may have identified or noticed that passage about him, but only the prominent features, the attacks on Marlowe and the actors, including Shakespeare. Moreover those who thought so had unimportant opinions, since the *Groatsworth* is not in the least like Nashe's work.

III. The Views of some Critics.

Very much more has been read into Greene's letter than it seems to me to be capable of sustaining, by some writers. But the generally accepted effect is important enough, and that is that he (Greene) accused Shakespeare of plagiarising from himself, from Marlowe, from Peele, and from Nashe (or Lodge). Some are not nearly content with this. Furnivall says (Introd. to *Contention* facsimile) the passage "is of course a sneer at Shakespeare, and a claim by Greene that he—if not also all

or some of Marlowe, Lodge and Peele—were part authors of the Third Part of *King Henry the Sixth*, in which "Oh Tygres Heart, etc., occurs." This is quite reckless. At the very highest the words quoted need only refer to *The True Tragedie*. But I disagree with the line of argument entirely. Greene used Shakespeare's line as an appropriate vehicle to enforce his personal attack and make it more personal. Of course if we are to assume that Shakespeare had no hand in *The True Tragedy* (an impossible assumption), or that Greene thought he had no hand in it when he wrote (which we have no right to imagine) then the quotation must refer to *3 Henry VI.*, because it is Shakespeare's. This seems to me to be Miss Jane Lee's position, and it is important, because it enables her to put the whole trilogy before the date of summer, 1592. I don't believe she has any right to that argument. But then she does not (or did not, I hope she changed) believe "that any part of *The Contention* or of *The True Tragedy* was written by Shakespeare." Here she is constrained to say that Shakespeare did not write the Cade scenes in *2 Henry VI.*, since they are practically identical with those in *The Contention*, but the reason she gives is that he was too young. And many passages in *3 Henry VI.*, must be denied to Shakespeare on the same grounds. Take Clifford's dying speech (*3 Henry VI.* II. vi.) for example, which is in *The True Tragedie* word for word: or Gloster's solo in III. ii., at the end, which has most of its best lines identical with those in *The True Tragedie;* which of the three victims could have written these? And much more the same.

In a Table, at the end of her careful and most praiseworthy attempt, Miss Lee gives Marlowe's and Greene's shares. The latter has all the Cade scenes, and at least two-thirds of *The Contention*, Marlowe the remainder. In *The True Tragedie* she allots the major part to Marlowe and the remainder to Greene, with two or three doubtful ascriptions to Peele, his only innings.

I differ so radically here that I will not further specify these allotments. But it surprises one that after finding certain strong resemblances to and evidences of Peele's work, in her paper (see pages 257-260, footnotes), she should dismiss him so unceremoniously in her Table.

IV. Further Views of Critics.

In my Introduction to Part I., I have given a slight general survey of the views of some of the best-known critics with regard to authorship, especially dwelling upon what seems to me the ablest, the best reasoned, and the most clearly written essay on the subject—that of Grant White (*Shakespeare's Works*, vol. vii. Boston, 1881). He does what is necessary, except for those who will do it for themselves—he makes copious extracts from the old plays side by side with their resultant forms in the final play. This is done by my collation. He quotes what he deems to be some of the most noteworthy passages in Marlowe's, Greene's and Peele's plays that serve as parallels for passages in the plays in dispute. There is no space for such an exponential method here; but my notes will, I trust, serve instead. He extracts as a sample from Marlowe's best work outside *Edward the Second* (which is he says without a doubt his best play) the speeches of Barabas in *The Jew of Malta* beginning "Ay, policy! that's their profession" to "appointed me" (Dyce's one-vol. edition, p. 150). And he makes this important statement with regard to *Edward the Second*, so constantly referred to as affording opposite parallels in this dispute—and erroneously made use of—"in which, especially in the scene of Edward's murder, he attained a dramatic power and a freedom of versification not found elsewhere in his own undoubted works or in those of any other of Shakespeare's early contemporaries. But this play affords unmistakable evidence that it was Marlowe's last; and he was killed in a fray in June, 1593, the year in which *Edward the Second* was entered upon the Stationers' Register. Whereas *The True Tragedy* had surely been long enough upon the stage when Greene died, in 1592, to be well known—a year or two, we may safely assume; and *The True Tragedy* was a later play than the *First Part of the Contention* . . . *Edward the Second* was written some time after the appearance of *The True Tragedy* and still longer after that of the *First Part of the Contention*. . . ."

"Peele's plays afford no better lines than these from *David and Bethsabe*: '*Cusay*. The stubborn enemies to David's peace, . . . And bursts with burden of ten thousand griefs'" (Dyce's one-vol. edition, pp. 484, 485).

Of Greene, as a "comedian," he says "the following passage . . . is cleaner and cleverer than it was his wont to be." He quotes from *A Looking Glasse for London and England*: "*First Ruffian.* Come on, Smith . . . a horse of thine own this seven year" (Dyce's one-vol. edition, pp. 119, 120). And as serious poetry he quotes again from Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, the speech of "*Belinus.* Thus far, my lords, we trained have our camp" (p. 228); and again from *A Looking Glasse for London*, a passage in his best style, "*Rasni.* So pace ye on, triumphant warriors" (the first speech). Furnivall gives an abstract of Grant White's arguments and extracts in his Introduction to the 1594 Contention fascimile. Grant White dwells largely on one—his main position. He assigns to Shakespeare all the matter in the two old plays that is obviously by the same hand as the identical matter in *2* and *3 Henry VI.* This is a logical and comfortable standpoint. It is based on the view that Shakespeare only took what was his own into the final plays. But to turn this argument the other way, as is his tendency, and assume on the basis of Greene's attack I presume, that all that is quite different from anything in the finished plays which occurs in the old ones is of a necessity by Marlowe, Greene, or Peele—that is where I do not agree. I do not think the Greene attack warrants the idea to start with; and I do think that in many places Shakespeare wrote and altered his own original (*Contention*) work, with something almost wholly new. I should mention here that at the close of Furnivall's abstract, he seems to identify his views with those of Miss Lee.

There is a footnote in Grant White (p. 443) that should be quoted. I had already thrown out a hint to the same effect. He says: "After much consideration of the subject, I have little or no doubt that Greene alludes to other plays besides the Second and Third Parts of *King Henry VI.*, to *The Taming of the Shrew* and perhaps to *Titus Andronicus* and even *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the old *King John.*" This is true in purport even if we disagree with the chosen plays, and it affords a fortunate breach for us in the chain armour of those who insist on *Henry VI.* alone being referred to by Greene. Indeed Grant White here rather overlooks what he has said on p. 412: "this line is one of the large number in the Third

Part of *King Henry the Sixth* which are taken bodily from *The True Tragedy* which was published in 1595. It was to a share in the latter play, therefore, that Greene meant to set up a claim. . . ." So that the critics, in endeavouring to affix certainty where there is the barest vagueness, disagree with themselves as well as each other. Grant White continues here: "We have already seen that *The True Tragedy* was published as having been 'sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his servants'"; and there is this support of Greene's claim,—that while Shakespeare is not known to have had any connection with the Earl of Pembroke's servants, we have the testimony of Nashe, in his *Apologie for Pierce Penilesse*, published in 1593, that Greene was "chief agent of the companie, for he wrote more than four other." And in this paragraph he concludes with the words "he would show himself either incompetent or foolhardy, I think, who denied that Greene's title to the older versions of those two plays (for one is but the continuation of the other) was thus far more clearly established than Shakespeare's." Grant White says this on the strength of Greene's passage, Chettle's apologia, and R. B.'s lines. At the utmost Greene's title is but a part title. But he quotes one sentence from the body of Chettle's *Kind Hart's Dream* of interest: "of whom (Greene) however some suppose themselves injured, I have learned to speak, considering he is dead, *nil nisi necessarium*. He was of singuler plesaunce, the verye supporter, and, to no man's disgrace bee this intended (Chettle was a play-writer) the only Comedian of a vulgar writer in this country." This is a sort of defence of Greene by Chettle against Shakespeare's umbrage.

As Grant White has quoted one paragraph from *Pierce Penilesse*, another which refers to this subject should be also cited, from Nashe's epistle prefixed to it: "Other newes I am aduertized of, that a scald triuiall lying Pamphlet, called *Greens Groatsworth of wit* is given out to be of my doing. God neuer haue care of my soule, but vtterly renounce me if the least word or syllable in it proceeded from my penne or if I were any way priuie to the writing or printing of it" (Grosart's *Nashe*, ii. 7). This should be set beside Chettle's denunciation of Greene's words about Shakespeare.

It is my misfortune to be compelled to differ with Grant

White in his conclusions. I approached the subject in a different manner, arguing rather from the particular to the general and endeavouring to construct a whole piecemeal, from minutiæ and details. Accepting the consensus of opinion that those two old plays, as well as probably the three final parts, have amongst them portions and parcels of the work of Marlowe, Greene and Peele, I studied those authors with as much care as I was capable of. Insensibly I arrived at certain conclusions at first largely in support of Greene's being the major hand, the usual verdict: but by degrees in the play which we are now dealing with (or rather its original *The Contention*) Peele came more and more to the front and shouldered Greene out of court into a back place. I will now bring forward what evidence I have for this view.

I had written this much when I obtained through Doctor Bowden's kindness (always so helpful to me when the need of a special Shakespearian volume is felt), Fleay's *Who Wrote Henry VI.?* (Macmillan, Nov. 1875). I have read it carefully and though greatly at variance with it, one or two points are useful. I will specify them first. He decides that Peele is largely concerned in these plays, giving him a more prominent position than any other critic does. He believes the "principal arranger or plotter" of *3 Henry VI.* to be Marlowe and Peele his subordinate. But Fleay is very vague; even here, who does the writing? He gives the best poetry in *2 Henry VI.* III. iii. and ix. to Marlowe but the Cade scenes are necessarily allotted to Peele, and the wooing scene between Edward and the widow in Part III., as being impossible by Marlowe. He allots *1 Henry VI.* to Marlowe with the exception of IV. iv.; V. i.; V. v. which belong to some one else, not Greene or Peele or Marlowe. And one scene in that play (II. iv.) is certainly by Shakespeare, while another (II. v.) is "neither Marlowe's nor Greene's; is it Shakespeare's?" But this last Marlowe (of *1 Henry VI.*) is the Marlowe of *Tamburlaine*, not of *Faustus* and *Edward II.*; while "an inferior hand, exactly in Greene's style has . . . written I. ii.; I. iv.; I. v.; I. vi.; II. i.; II. ii.; II. iii.; III. ii.; III. iii.; IV. ii.; IV. iii.; IV. iv.; IV. v.; IV. vi.; IV. vii.; V. ii. So that Fleay's general conclusion here is "that *1 Henry VI.* is the production of Marlowe and Greene, with a few additions; *2 Henry VI.* and *3 Henry VI.* of Marlowe and

Peele; that Marlowe was the original plotter and constructor of all three plays." With regard again to *2 Henry VI.* he selects Beaufort's death speech (III. iii.) and places it alongside Marlowe's Faustus's death with the remark that "not even in Shakespeare is there a death scene of despair like either of these two"—both are therefore Marlowe's. (But see Marlowe's parallels from *King John* and *Macbeth*.)

I am glad to find that I arrived at agreement with Fleay with regard to Peele and Greene. I merely replace Marlowe by Shakespeare, speaking very generally, and only with regard to *1, 2* and *3 Henry VI.* But there is so much in Fleay that rouses opposition that I will not inflict myself upon him much longer. He entirely agrees with Mr. Simpson that the *Groatsworth* refers to Shakespeare only as a player. That I maintain is not demonstrable by Fleay, Simpson or any other critic. But Fleay is so positive that one cannot reason with him. He finds "a little point" in the position of the quoted line in the *Groatsworth* which is *not* in the paragraphs addressed to Marlowe or Juvenal, but comes closest to that addressed to Peele —an argument that the line may be Peele's—the line not being taken from Shakespeare according to Fleay's views. And it cannot certainly be his (Greene's own) says Fleay. "This little point seems to indicate Peele as one of them (authors of *The Contention*) and Greene as not one of them. Peele and Marlowe are therefore (a great leap from a little point) so far the winning horses for the authorship of *The Contention*, and all three for that of *Henry VI.*" "The Contention" here is the two plays *Contention* and *True Tragedy* (*i.e.*, the First and Second *Contention*, the two old plays, issued in 1600 as *The Whole Contention*). That is the result of Fleay's external evidence, which includes, besides the passage in the *Groatsworth*, an examination into the connection of those three writers with the various companies of players (Lord Strange's, Earl of Pembroke's and the Admiral's or Chamberlain's) and their rights of possession in the plays and their copyrights. I set no great faith in this evidence. It is built upon sandy plains of presumption and probabilities. But his conclusion on this evidence must be quoted, that it "simply goes to exclude Shakespeare from any authorship of *The Whole Contention* as he was never in connection with any company but the Cham-

berlain's (afterwards the King's, 1603), and perhaps Lord Strange's; and even in the title-page of *The Whole Contention* in 1600 only the Earl of Pembroke's servants, and not the Chamberlain's, are mentioned. A sackful of this evidence will not weigh with me against a handful of what the writings themselves advance. None of the writers about it agree amongst themselves in any detailed or hard-and-fast platform. All their "facts" are open to contingencies or built on probabilities. So is Fleay's paper continuously in this part. It is a matter of "What can be traced."

One final word on Fleay's position. He opens his paper with the words: "I shall merely promise that there is no evidence whatever for Shakespeare's having any share in either the early or late editions, except the solitary fact that the editors of the first Folio included *Henry VI.* in their collection." And he closes: "But there is a greater difficulty behind. There is such a similarity between parts of *2* and *3 Henry VI.* and *Richard III.* as distinctly to show a unity of authorship. Phrases not occurring elsewhere in Shakespeare are frequently repeated in these plays and there is continuity in the plot, and in the character of Richard III., that is unmistakable." After some special pleading and an assumption or two that are useful to his argument, if argument it be, he gets out of this dilemma by the following structure. Peele wrote a play of *Richard III.* which he left unfinished (to complete the trilogy of *2* and *3 Henry VI.*) and Shakespeare hurriedly revised and finished it into the 1597 Quarto of *Richard III.* There is one pleasing note in all this—a tribute to Peele's powers. I see little else but increasing confusion and weariness of soul. I notice in the Introduction to this last play in the Arden edition that Fleay is stated to ascribe the early *Richard III.* to Marlowe, and I find in Fleay's *Chronicle History of Shakespeare* (1886, p. 279) that he believes "the anterior play was Marlowe's"; with no apology for the words (Macmillan, p. 60) quoted about Peele of whom he seems to have wearied. But Marlowe is given far too big a burthen for his working years these days. The date of Marlowe's death (1593) is not suitable for the above ascription.

With respect to the allotment of parts to Marlowe above, in *2 Henry VI.*, Fleay gives little or no proof. Two or

three quotations and a metrical note on a supposed extra syllable in the mid-line. A similar remark might be made (with all due apologies) about Miss Jane Lee's attributions to Greene dealt with specifically. In both cases they are no more than personal opinions.

For the late Mr. Craig's views, see Introduction to Part III.

IV. Something About Peele. Peele the Author of *The Life and Death of Jack Straw*.

George Peele was about half a dozen years older than Shakespeare. He died probably in 1597. Nashe outlived him three or four years while he (Peele) survived Greene for about five years and Marlowe a year less. It must be remembered here that it does not in the least follow that any of these writers agreed with Greene in his hostility towards Shakespeare. On the contrary his rancour might have been enhanced by their attraction towards him. Nashe had no such feelings. At a later date Marlowe is referred to in almost affectionate terms by Shakespeare (in *As You Like It*, III. v. 82). Peele gives one a pleasant feeling of amiability in his ways. I believe he was generally beloved and may have been naturally enough a friend, even a useful friend, of Shakespeare's, and worked with him. Peele and Shakespeare had a warm patriotism in common. Peele's love for England and her heroes is constantly cropping up. It is one of the pleasantest points about him. Peele was steeped in Spenser, there was that in common. His *Arraignment of Paris*, his best piece, shows that to be the case. The *Tamburlaine* influence, that of Marlowe, was bad for him, yet he had a nice natural gift in ranting of his own according to the method of his days and of earlier days—a gift that is badly lost and badly needed in these prosaic artificial times of critical self-consciousness and introspection. Peele had the saving gift of humour, in a sort of Shakespearian way, such as few of his contemporaries were blessed with. Nashe, in his address prefixed to *Menaphon* (by Greene) speaks very highly of him when referring to his *Arraignment of Paris*, and when Peele ventures to tread rather heavily on Gabriel Harvey's sensitive toes, in his *Old Wives' Tale*, the latter seems to have borne it patiently and made no retort that I can find—evidence of goodwill towards him in an

unexpected quarter—perhaps from a mutual regard for Spenser. He was employed as a civic and state poet and seems to have had influential friends and patrons. He wrote blank verse addresses on public events with ease and grace and dignity. His *David and Bethsabe* is usually selected as his best piece, or the best to select samples from, but there are passages in his other plays I far prefer, such as the opening of *Edward I.*, or parts of his *Arraignment of Paris*. *David and Bethsabe* is an unnatural piece in many ways, full of stilted and unnatural quasi-Biblical writing that becomes wearisome with its load of thous and thees and thys. Peele's natural writing is very good English indeed, as a rule, and often comes nearer, in choice of language, to that of Shakespeare than most of those of his time. Without any great depth of thought or gift of characterisation he has a harmonious method of descriptive writing, coupled with plenty of swing and energy, that carries one along with him.

We have a good deal of signed work of Peele's. In addition to that there is plenty of evidence of his hand in anonymous plays of the time. Chettle has told us of the quantity of matter Greene left unfinished in the booksellers' hands—probably mainly dramatic, as was Greene's latest work. It is likely that Peele revised, expanded, or finished Greene's work on several occasions possibly acquired or supplied to him from such sources. Mr. J. M. Robertson has proved, I think, that he had a share in the final state of *Titus Andronicus*, no very welcome ascription to "Sweet St. George." Many notes in my pages of these plays will further that belief. Again, I have no doubt, he assisted in the play of *Locrine*, a very compound production, with a curious blend of excellence and inanity running through its composition in a most puzzling and interesting way. *Selimus* also had some polish or rearrangement from him.

Amongst the many shots at a venture that Fleay makes at the authorship of anonymous plays or other identifications—shots which are often as good as they can be, often as bad as they can be—he made an undoubted hit when he wrote down *Jack Straw* as Peele's. It was the parallelism of scenes and situations in this unimportant little play, with some of the Cade work in *The Contention* that made me feel on sure ground with regard to Peele. I studied *Jack Straw* when I found the Wat

Tyler rebellion in Cade: and I found Peele at once in the play. It will be appropriate and indeed necessary here to try and establish this. My edition is that of Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vol. v. It was first printed in 1593. Fleay dates it confidently as written in 1587 on very insufficient evidence. He ascribes it to Peele on the strength of his "sign-manual," the "sandy plain," near the end, but there are plenty more echoes and signs manual of Peele in *Jack Straw*. In the first place the metre at once strikes the reader with surprise. It begins with lines of irregular length, only to be sorted by their rhymes —lines that give one the feeling they were food for revision and very easily digested, but evidently this play never had a second handling. There is plenty of such unscannable verse in Peele's *Edward I.* and *Arraignment of Paris*, dependent for harmony on the rhyme, but usually the lines are long, often fourteeners. Then it breaks into a page or two of lines with four feet or accents, still rhyming and quite musical, just as Peele does in *The Old Wives' Tale* every now and then. And a little later when dignity comes on the stage in the shape of the "Lord Treasurer, Lord Archbishop and Secretary," we have regular orthodox well-finished blank verse of which there is plenty (see Act IV.) in the *Arraignment*. Moreover, we get Peele's favourite trochaic endings, as on p. 388, lenity, extremity, injury, courtesy, policy, doing yeoman's work for rhyme. A lesson he learned from the *Faerie Queene* in its early career. No other writer comes near Peele in this fluidity of verse at this time, and this evidence greatly strengthens Fleay's attribution. It also supports his date, which he places from an allusion in the words "this last benevolence" (p. 384) to the great distress in 1587 in London, when money and ships were raised; the insurrection of apprentices in the previous year, and there being no mention of the Armada. I will give a few parallels. In *Jack Straw*, here is a parson's character (p. 381):—

What, is he an honest man? The devil he is! he is the parson of the town;
You think there's no knavery hid under a black gown?
Find him in a pulpit but twice in the year,
And I'll find him forty times in the ale-house tasting strong beer.

In the *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 450) a Friar is introduced "with a chine of beef and a pot of wine," solely for the purpose of these remarks: "Is

this the veriest knave in all Spain? *Sac.* Yes. *Del.* What, is he a friar? *Sac.* Yes, a friar indefinite and a knave infinite." He appears only here.

Jack Straw (p. 382): "But merrily with the world it went, When men ate berries of the hawthorn-tree. An thou help me, I 'll help thee." *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 447): "Hips and haws, and sticks and straws! why, is that all your food, father?"

Jack Straw (p. 384): "it seemeth strange. . . . That being won with reason and regard Of true succeeding prince, the common sort Should be so slack to give." And p. 399: "*King.* It is enough; believe me, if you will; For as I am your true succeeding prince, I swear." The *Battle of Alcazar* (p. 434): "calls for wars, Wars, wars, to plant the true succeeding prince." And p. 440: "From him to thee as true-succeeding prince. With all allegiance." "True-succeeding seed" occurs on p. 422 in the same play. I know no other examples. True suceeders occur in *Richard III.* v. v. 30.

Jack Straw (pp. 385 and 409): "Well I wot." In Peele's *Tale of Troy* (p. 556, a); and *Honour of the Garter* (p. 587, a, twice). Not especially Peele's, but characteristic of Spenser, Greene and Peele.

Jack Straw (p. 387): "I have his wife and children pledges. . . . *T. M.* Let him take heed . . . or else his pledges goes to the pot.' *Edward I.* (389, b): "we will admit no pause, For goes this wretch, this traitor, to the pot."

Jack Straw (p. 387): "Gog's blood, Jack have we . . . ?" *Sir Clyomon* (p. 502): "Nay, Gog's blood, I 'll bee gone."

Jack Straw (p. 387): "have we the cards in our hands?" And p. 411: "I would lay a surer trump Ere I would lose so fair a trick." Peele is fond of illustrations from cards. *Edward I.* (p. 387): "Aye there's a card that puts us to our trump." And at p. 393: "since the King hath put us amongst the discarding cards, and, as it were, turned us with deuces and treys out of the deck." And *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 446): "What, shall we have a game at trump or ruff to drive away the time?"

Jack Straw (p. 390): "I cannot think so good a gentleman As is that knight, Sir John Morton I mean, Would entertain so base and vile a thought." *Speeches at Theobald's* (p. 577, b): "with sacred rites Prepared myself to entertain good thoughts." For "I mean" here, see note *1 Henry VI.* v. v. 20. And *Sir Clyomon* (p. 522, a).

Jack Straw (p. 390): "Were it not for fear or policy, So true a bird would file so fair a nest." *Anglorum Feriæ* (p. 596, b): "He durst not openly disgorge at home, In his own nest filed with so foul a bird."

Jack Straw (p. 384): "Tyburn, standfast; I fear you will be loden." *Sir Clyomon* (p. 509, b): "there was never poor ass so loaden!"

Jack Straw (p. 392): "And so amidst the stream may hover safe." (at Greenwich). *Tale of Troy* (p. 554, b): "The flower of Greece . . . For want of wind had hover'd long in Aulis."

Jack Straw (p. 395): "It was a world to see what troops of men." *Sir Clyomon* (p. 515): "But 'tis a world to zee what merry lives we shepherds lead."

Jack Straw (p. 395): "'Gan strew the gravel ground and sandy plain." *Anglorum Feriæ* (p. 595, a): "Over the wild and sandy Afric plains." See note at *2 Henry VI.* I. iv. 39. And *Battle of Alcazar* (p. 440, a): "The fields and sandy plains we have survey'd."

Jack Straw (p. 395): "did an echo rise, That pierced the ears of our renowned king." *Battle of Alcazar* (p. 436, a): "the reasons of the king, Which so effectually have pierc'd mine ears." And *Descensus Astrææ* (p. 541, a): "Whose pure renown hath pierced the world's large ears." In Spenser's *Daphnaida.*

Jack Straw (p. 398): "have secret wreak in store." *David and Bethsabe* (p. 472, a): "in the holy temple have I sworn Wreak of his villany" (the noun is much less common than the verb).

Jack Straw (p. 400): "It skills not much: I am an Englishman." *Sir Clyomon* (p. 493, b): "Whither I go, it skills not, for Knowledge is my name."

Jack Straw (p. 401): "I have read this in Cato, Ad concilium antiquum voceris: Take good counsel, while it is given." *Edward I.* (p. 401): "I remember I read it in Cato's Pueriles, that Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator; a man purse-penniless may sing before a thief."

Jack Straw (p. 402): "Riddle me a riddle, what 's this, I shall be hanged, I shall not be hanged. *Here he tries it with a staff.*" *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 449, a): "if it be no more but . . . 'riddle me, riddle me what 's this'? I shall have the wench."

Jack Straw (p. 403): "But there 's no such matter; we be no such fools." *Arraignment of Paris* (p. 352): "There 's no such matter, Pan; we are all friends."

Jack Straw (p. 404): "Parson Ball, I will tell thee, And swear it of mine honesty. Thou shalt be hanged as well as we." The run of these lines is exactly Peele's. See *Edward I.* p. 392-95 in several places, *e.g.*

Jack Straw (p. 407): "Lord Mayor, and well-belov'd friends." *Battle of Alcazar*, p. 423, a: "for no distrust Of loyalty, my well-beloved friends, But that," etc.

Jack Straw (p. 408): "mercy in a prince resembleth right The gladsome sunshine in a winter's day." *David and Bethsabe* (p. 468): "The time of year is pleasant for your grace, And gladsome summer in her shady robes." . . . "Gladsome beams" occurs in p. 485, b (same play).

Jack Straw (p. 409) "Pleaseth your grace, they have been rid apace. . . . And yet survives this Ball." *The Tale of Troy* (p. 556, a): "Sir Paris than With poisoned arrow rid the heedless man." And *Edward I.* (p. 408, a): "I rid her not; I made her not away." But frequent at this time.

A few more general points might be mentioned, as the touch of heraldry about the city arms and knighting of William Walworth (p. 413); the verbal iteration, as in p. 385, "Your words . . . tend unto the profit of the king, Whose profit is the profit of the land"; and the culling of bits of prophecy from

Grafton (or other chroniclers), as at p. 381, "when Adam delved" (see *Edward I. passim*): these are all in Peele's manner. I am satisfied this piece is an early product of Peele's, and it seemed a useful link in the chain of evidence connecting Peele with *2 Henry VI.* (or *The Contention*). Presently, when we come to look for Peele in these two plays, we shall see that certain passages or incidents occurring in *Jack Straw*, occur identically in them, in the rebellion of Jack Cade, where they are historically untrue. But the rebellions have so much similarity that if Peele had anything to do with the Cade scenes he would be certain to weave in, consciously or unconsciously, memories of his previous work. Or put the case the other way, Peele would be put on to that job (in company with Shakespeare) on account of his extant work and his knowledge of the chronicles. I say "in company with Shakespeare" because the latter did the larger part of the Cade scenes, but another hand (Peele's) is unmistakably present, so much so that we have two Cades in detail. I am not claiming for Peele a work of any importance in *Jack Straw*. It is only a slight four-act piece, written to flatter and amuse the people, very likely, as Fleay says, at a time of popular commotion—and hardly worthy of the name of a drama. There are some passions in it, but no characters distinctly drawn.

It is as well to give here another "sign manual" of Peele, though not in these plays. It is "numberless"; which may be added to "true-succeeding" and "sandy plains" as his especial badges. He uses it in *Alcazar* (p. 434, b): "Besides a number almost numberless Of drudges"; *Order of the Garter* (585, b): "A number numberless appointed well For tournament"; *Anglorum Feriæ* (596, b): "Small number of a number numberless." And he introduces himself into *Selimus* (Grosart, xiv. 197): "Gathering to him a number numberless Of big-bond Tartars."

Peele's fashion of rhetorical repetition in his poetry, not silly iteration, but purposeful (*Epanadiplosis*, *Epanalepsis*, *Anaphora*, etc.), is more apparent in his later work than in *The Arraignment* and other his earlier work. This was due perhaps to the *Faerie Queene's* example, where such methods are largely and suitably used, though not appropriate in dramatic poetry. They were not due to Spenser, but greatly beautified and de-

veloped by him. In Peele they are nowhere so abundant (and misplaced) as in *Alcazar*, and *David and Bethsabe.*

It is perhaps the same case with that I have called sing-song or trochaic endings. In *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 57, lingered mortality, tyranny, regality, infirmity; and see again in II. xii. 16 and elsewhere. But there the melody is suitable, and moreover the sing-songishness is checked by intervening lines. But when Marlowe uses it in *1 Tamburlaine*, I. i. (Dyce, p. 8, b), and II. i. and elsewhere, it is a blemish. In Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, it is less out of place. Later in Peele's work he became a slave to it. In such plays as *Locrine* (Greene) it becomes most irksome. Some patches of it occur in *Jack Straw*. And here and there in all three parts of *Henry VI.* Whether it is the least displeasing or the most tiresome form of end-stopped line depends upon taste, or upon its excess. All forms occur in *1 Henry VI.*, and yet there is good poetry. But there is more beautiful poetry in *Edward III.* (*anon.*), almost wholly of end-pausing lines, with little or none of the sing-song—a later play than any of those just mentioned. See *1 Henry VI.* II. i. 43, III. ii. 137 for notes and examples from Greene, who murdered the device with surfeiting the trespass of the lyric muse. The steady decrease of end-pausing from *Henry VI.* (Part I.) to *Richard III.* is always to be observed—to Shakespeare's credit.

VI. Evidences of Peele in Phrases, Passages, and Composition in *2 Henry VI.*: with a Running Comment on the Texts Compared.

Only prominent ones are selected; others will be found in my notes, which should be referred to also for further information on those here given since the context is usually important, and dwelt upon there. And those from Peele are in earlier work.

I. i. 65, 66. *till term of eighteen months Be full expired.* Peele, *Sir Clyomon* (Dyce's one-vol. ed. p. 506): "Now are the ten days full expired wherein." Not in Q. Perhaps merely legal or technical.

I. i. 79. *Summer's parching heat.* Peele, *An Eclogue Gratulatory* (p. 562, b): "where he with swink and sweat Felt foeman's rage and summer's parching heat." This speech should also be compared with *David and Bethsabe* (p. 468, b) about "Joab and his brother in the fields

suffering the wrath of winter." See note in passage here on the development from the last scene but one in *1 Henry VI.* *Parching heat* occurs in *Lucrece*, but was not an old expression. "Summer's parching heat" has been borrowed from Peele into *Arden of Feversham* (1592) also (Act II.) attributed by Fleay to Kyd. *Open fields* in the preceding line is in Peele's *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 452, b). Peele has *names in books of memory* twice in later work (1593), Dyce, pp. 601, 602.

I. i. 123. In *Contention*, has *my thrice valiant son.* See Introduction to Part I. on this construction, a favourite with Peele and Shakespeare. At I. i. 157-159 three lines about Humphrey occur (in Q) that are nearly repeated below at III. i. 20 in Q, and there carefully omitted.

Shakespeare opened the Act, as he usually (or often) does and wrote the first scene with Peele's help here and there. Peele has less to do with this scene (which is Shakespeare's) in *Contention* than in Part II., where both developed it together.

I. ii. 25. *office-badge.* Peele, *Honour of the Garter* (p. 587, a): "his office-badge Was a black rod whereof he took his name."

I. ii. 64. *remove stumbling blocks.* Peele, *Edward I.:* "'tis a deed of charity to remove this stumbling block." Not in Q.

I. ii. 82-86. In the Duchess's speech here in Q occurs "backside of my Orchard." (Shakespeare has "backside of the town" in *Cymbeline.*) Peele, *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 455, a): "He looks as though he crept out of the backside of the well, and speaks like a drum perished at the west end." But earlier in *New Eng. Dict.*

I. ii. 82-86. In the same speech occurs "And cast their spells *in silence of the night.*" See I. iv. 16, note at "silent of the night" perhaps a mere misprint. "Silence of the night" as in Q again below. Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, II. i.: "Nor may the silence of the speechless night (Dire) architect of murders and misdeeds." ("Quiet silence of the night" occurs in *Selimus*, later, a play in which Peele had a final hand.) Joan has used spells in Part I. v. iii. 2.

I. ii. 99. *And buz these conjurations in her brain.* Peele, *Tale of Troy* (p. 551, a), 1589: "Till one, I say, revengeful power or other Buzz'd in the brain of her unhappy mother A dreadful dream." Greene often uses "buz in the ears" of a slander, etc.

The opening of Scene ii. is again Shakespeare's, who with Peele did the expansion in the finished play. Note the many Shakespearianisms introduced in the opening speech. The stage business of Hume, Jourdain and Bolingboke would be allotted to Peele, who wrote this part alone in Q.

I. iii. 133-135. See note at III. i. 61, 62 on the repetition of these charges against Gloucester. And again at I. iii. 107-118 in Gloucester's reply, where the racking of the Commons is repeated from I. iii. 125, 126, the Cardinal's accusation. See notes at I. iii. 210, 211 and III. i. 292. The confusion and repetition is due to a divided, or a distributed authorship.

I. iii. 137. In Q the stage direction is "The Queene . . . hits the Duches of Gloster a boxe on the eare." This incident is paralleled by

one in Peele's *Edward I.* (p. 392) where the Queen "longs to give your Grace a boxe on the ear," and does it. It may have been introduced by him into the play, but there is little evidence of any hand other than Shakespeare's in either play in this scene, but much of his. The improvements are very considerable, and the eliminations are noticeable, as "Somerset . . . Regent over the French" twice in four lines (Q) at the end of scene. There is revising and inserting in these first three scenes showing the Cardinal's implacable hate for Gloucester (Humphrey) which does not appear in *Contention.* This is what would be natural in Shakespeare, whether author of *Contention* or not, who had constructed *1 Henry VI.* A later play than *Contention.*

I. iv. 22, 23. *It thunders and lightens . . . spirit. Adsum.*" Peele has similar arranging in *The Old Wives' Tale* where Sacrapant is the magician: "Re-enter Sacrapant: it lightens and thunders: the second Brother falls down [Jourdain grovels on the earth here]. . . . Sacrapant . . . *Adeste, dæmons!* Enter two Furies (p. 450, b). . . . 'It thunders and lightens.'" Again at p. 454, b. But Marlowe was familiar with all such machinery, and to him the passages in Q (that are completely altered) are due, Peele's modelling remaining and being even extended in the present play. See under "Marlowe" in this Introduction.

I. iv. 16. *silent of the night.* See above at I. ii. 82-86. This speech is Shakespeare's, the variation of the good expression of Peele's is quaint, but both hands are at work. Not in Q.

I. iv. 17. *The time of night when Troy was set on fire.* Compare Peele, *Tale of Troy* (p. 557, b): "It was the time when midnight's sleep and rest With quiet pause the town of Troy possess'd. . . . Now Troy as was foretold began to burn." Not in Q.

I. iv. 36, 68. *Sandy plains.* See above at *Jack Straw* (p. 395). In Q.

I. iv. 38. *I hardly can endure.* Similarly a spirit (angel of providence) says to Neronis in Peele's *Sir Clyomon* (p. 521, a): "Let desperation die in thee—I may not here remain. [*Ascends.*]" In Q: "I must hence again."

I. iv. 75. *A sorry breakfast for my Lord Protector.* Peele, *Edward I.* (p. 398, a): "By Gis, fair lords, ere many days be past England shall give this Robin Hood his breakfast"; and (p. 407, a): "Ah, gentle Richard, many a hot breakfast haue we been at together!" Not in Q.

With regard to these "blind prophecies," and their frequent use by Peele, see note at I. iv. 62. And also above at *Jack Straw* "(when Adam delved)." This repetition here in identical words side by side is not so inartistic in Q on account of the interposition there of the next scene (II. i.).

Act II.

II. i. 24. *Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?* Peele might have suggested this quotation; he used it in *Speeches to the Queen at Theobalds* (1591). It was used also in *Speeches to the Queen at Sudely* (1592). Nichols, III. 137.

I attribute this scene in both plays wholly to Shakespeare under Peele's guidance with regard to stage-directions. A few touches of his hand (perhaps) appear in illustrations from him, but none of weight. Note sing-song end-paused lines at the end of the scene.

Henry's holiness begins to be attended to here, as compared with Q. See also in last Act at I. iii. 54-59. And in this at II. i. 66. And so throughout. See III. ii. 232, IV. iv. 35, etc.

II. ii. Chiefly genealogical. Shakespeare had a bias for royal pedigree-work, and down to Warwick's last speech in Q 1, the readings are almost identical with some corrections of genealogy in Folio (see note at l. 4). This part also connects us with *1 Henry VI.* (II. iv. and IV. v.). Warwick's speech of ten lines (53-62) becomes two lines in *2 Henry VI.*, and is replaced by one to Buckingham by Shakespeare. This is the sort of place the scent gets warm. It is a bit of rant by Peele that is expunged, at least most likely by Peele, but certainly not by Shakespeare. See note at II. ii. 78. Shakespeare closes the scene.

II. iii. Down to the entrance of the Armourer, it is Peele's in Q, re-written very carefully by Shakespeare in *2 Henry VI.*, and extended from forty to sixty lines. One of the rejected lines "For sorrowes teares hath gript my aged heart" (an allusion to "blood-drinking sighs," etc.) is recalled in *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 171. Peele uses the noun similarly "Winding about his heart with mortal gripes" (*David and Bethsabe*, (p. 475, a) and elsewhere. "Fountains of mine eyes" is not again in Shakespeare, and is properly Peele's unless it belongs earlier to Kyd. "O eyes no eyes but fountains of my tears" (*Spanish Tragedy*). But I am wholly unable to separate Peele from some of Kyd's accepted work (*i.e. Soliman and Perseda*). See again *David and Bethsabe* (p. 475, a): "David's soul dissolves, Lading the fountains of his drowned eyes." We then have depart twice in four lines ("depart away" occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*). Humphrey's succeeding speech is altogether in Peele's manner of harping on a string or two, "as willing . . . thine, as erst . . . mine, and even as willing . . . leave it, as others . . . receive it." This is left standing.

We are surely indebted to Peele also for the interesting stage instructions prefixed to the trial by combat. In this scene the Queen's "manliness" is developed (l. 28). In the next her hatred of Gloucester (iv. 52) receives attention as compared with Q.

II. iv. 1. See note at "mourning cloaks" (stage-direction).

II. iv. 6. "Ten is the houre," etc. *Hard at hand*, with reference to time, occurs here in Q. It is a favourite expression (referring to place) with Peele, and occurs in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (Dyce, p. 15, b). But the Shakespearian use in *Othello*, III. i. 267. The opening words, the note of the scene, are added by Shakespeare in *2 Henry VI.* On the whole evidence the opening of the scene is Shakespeare's in Q, and is Shakespeare's improved in *2 Henry VI.* But there is no need to dwell upon other writers in this pathetic scene, which is wholly Shakespeare's in both plays. Plenty of Shakespearian touches occur. Eleanor's speeches after Gloucester leaves (in Q) are much improved in the revision, and

as usual commonplace writing has been deleted, whether bits of Peele's work or his own.

Act III.

In this Act one of the noticeable results in the reformation of the old play is the production of harmony by the alteration, often, of a single word or so, from lines that won't scan to lines that will, or from lines that will to others that will more musically. One of the broadest Shakespearian results. Take III. ii. 275: "But all the honour Salisbury hath got," and sound it with "But all the honour Salisbury hath won." This is an extreme example in delicacy. Shakespeare put out this use of got elsewhere, in "get the day."

III. i. There are a few expressions of Peele's in the revised play, as, "heart unspotted" (III. i. 100); the metaphor of "choking weeds" (III. i. 31), etc. But none of any consequence. "Thrice-noble" is here the property of *2 Henry VI.*, not of Q. "It skills not," noted on at *Jack Straw* above, is also inserted, and not in Q. "Now or never" (III. i. 331), and "make commotion" (III. i. 358) are also used earlier by Peele (the latter in *Jack Straw*, see note). All of these, I believe, belong only to *2 Henry VI.* (not Q). The whole scene is Shakespeare's written lightly for a shorter play and expanded fully by the same writer. At ll. 154-160 certain changes of epithets to Beaufort and Suffolk, seem to be merely capricious.

III. ii. Note the careful stage-instructions in Q, at the opening. The same conclusion as in the last scene, holds good of authorship in this, but there are even fewer signs of Peele in either play. See note at "The commons like an angry hive of bees" (125) with parallel from *Jack Straw*, and at "breathless corpse" (132); "three days space" (295); "chalky cliffs" (101); "grove of cypress trees" (323); "serpent's hiss" (326). All from the finished play. Shakespeare develops greatly in this scene. He has made Warwick and Margaret all his own no matter who started them. None of the suspected ones could have approached the varied and powerful language in Margaret's and Suffolk's dialogue; both of which abound in unmistakable Shakespearianisms (as my notes amply demonstrate), not a few of which are also in the earlier Quarto form. The Quarto affords another "thrice" adjective, "thrice-famous" altered to "thrice-famed" (157). There is hardly a line in it to challenge, and hardly a line not accepted for the final play. Scene iii. is all Shakespeare's. The alterations from one text to the other are unimportant in any respect other than that of gracing the old and careless text, which contains some sad corruptions, if metre was considered. There are signs of Peele in the short original. See note at "gripe" replaced by "grin" (24); "Forbear to" (31); and the last line "see his funerals be performde" is illustrated by the last line in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar:* "So to perform the prince's funerals." We may allot this part of Act III., and only this part (in Q), to Peele. As the play progresses so does Peele stand aside in important situations. Note in Scene iii., the excision of a patch of Oh's from the final play. A like experience occurred

in *Love's Labour's Lost.* Note corrupt readings in Q (as at III. ii. 197). Shakespeare's own work, corrected by Shakespeare.

ACT IV.

IV. i. Opened by Shakespeare, and the opening seven lines awkwardly tacked on to Peele's opening, for I think he wrote this scene down to Suffolk's exit in Q. The stage direction here is both explicit and important since it gives us Walter (Water) Whitmore's name. Note too the prophecies and the quibbling on "Pole" (70) as in *Jack Straw* (see note). But the revision is Shakespeare's work, although a few touches or rememberings of Peele occur, as in "gaudy day" (1); "name and port of" (19); "senseless winds" (77). He is probably, the borrower (in Q) of Greene's Abradas, altered to Bargulus by Shakespeare. See an odd note at the end of IV. i. on the Quarto expression "Come let 's go." The omission of the ship passage (Q) "like as it were a fight at sea" from the final play is interesting. Possibly it was found too difficult of stage management. In this scene *The Contention* supplies the Folio with a missing line (48). The same thing happens a couple of times in Part III.

IV. ii. 8. *'twas never merry world . . . since gentlemen came up.* Peele, *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 382). "But merrily with the world it went, When men ate berries of the hawthorn tree." From Grafton (see note at l. 68).

IV. ii. 18. *labouring men.* Peele, *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 453, b) "Go get you in, you labouring slaves."

IV. ii. 61. *his coat is of proof.* Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (p. 465, a): "He puts on armour of his honour 's proof."

IV. ii. 133. *Adam was a gardener.* Peele, *Jack Straw* (p. 381): "When Adam delved and Eve span."

IV. ii. 145. *His son am I, deny it if you can.* Peele, *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 455, b): "are not you the man, sir, deny it if you can, sir," etc. In Q.

IV. ii. 151. *That speaks he knows not what.* Peele, *Edward I.* (p. 413, a): "Bereav'd her sense and memory at once, so that she spoke she knew nor how nor what." Not in Q.

IV. ii. 182. *'tis for liberty.* Peele, *Jack Straw* (p. 399): "we will have wealth and liberty." [*Cry all: Wealth and Liberty!*] King. "It is enough . . . You shall have liberty."

The parallelism with Peele's work here lies more in the assumption that *Jack Straw* was written by Peele, connected with the fact that Shakespeare makes use of Jack Straw's rebellion from the chroniclers, as shown in my notes. Two passages in this scene in Q, here (47-52 and 77-82) are transferred to Scene vii. in the final play (6-11, 8, 9). But there is little omitted or altered from one scene to the other: the difference lies mainly in extension. There is, however, one suggestive

little point. In Q Dick Butcher is knighted before Stafford's entry, by Cade at the same time as he knights himself, to encourage him to the fight, and the result is satisfactory. This little structural detail need not have been rejected. It is quite in Peele's way since he celebrates knighthood and knights and orders in and out of season. Peele's sympathy is much more with the people (as in *Jack Straw*); he does not address them as "filth and scum of Kent, marked for the gallows."

IV. iii. 7, 8. *a hundred lacking one.* See note at passage, from Peele, *Old Wives' Tale* (p. 451, b). In Q.

IV. iii. 16. *break open the gaols and let out the prisoners.* Peele, *Jack Straw* (396): "they have . . . let out all the prisoners, broke up the Marshalsea and the King's Bench." Not in Q.

This scene is reduced to five lines in Q, that is to say to Cade's single speech (ll. 3-8). The development as well as the original may be by Peele. But the belief grows that they worked out Cade together in both plays.

IV. iv. 10-12. *I myself . . . will parley with Jack Cade.* In Peele's *Jack Straw* (391). *Richard II.* says: "Tell them that we ourselves will come to them" by Sir John Morton's advice: "Thus would I deal with these rebellious men: I would find time to parley with some of them." It appears from *New Eng. Dict.* the verb was not common before 1600. In Q Shakespeare opened this scene with ten added lines, calculated to make Margaret's character more objectionable, not to say abominable.

IV. iv. 40. "Ah, were the Duke of Suffolk now alive" is found lower down in Scene ix. (Q). Unaccountable change.

IV. v. 10. *gather head.* Peele, *Battle of Alcazar* (p. 432, a): "The Spaniard ready to embark himself, Here gathers to a head." The expression has occurred already in Q. See note. In Q.

IV. vii. 1, 2. *pull down the Savoy; others to the Inns of Court: down with them.* This from the 1381 rebellion. The Inns of Court are referred to in *Jack Straw:* "We 'll not leave a man of law, Nor a paper worth a haw," etc. (394). In Q.

IV. vii. 9-11. John's and Smith's asides should have remained where they were in Scene ii. in Q. They belong there from 6 to 12. See note.

IV. vii. 14. *burn all the records of the realm.* See extract from Fabyan at IV. vii. 1. Peele, *Jack Straw* (401); "Enter Tom Miller to burn papers . . . I have made a bonfire here Of a great many bonds and indentures, And obligations: faith I have been amongst The ends of the Court, and among the records . . . in the Guildhall." In Q.

IV. vii. 18, 19. *all things shall be in common.* And above at ii. 68, *All the realm shall be common.* Peele, *Jack Straw* (382): "it were better to have this community, Than to have this difference in degree." In Q (in first quotation). This scene.

IV. vii. 120-122. *tribute . . . maidenhead.* Peele, *Jack Straw* (beginning). See note at passage in text.

This scene in both plays is by Shakespeare, with trifling hints from Peele. The humour is altogether of a higher class, and more witty, than anything of Peele's for so long a spell. We have to remember always not only what is before us, but to reflect upon what probably would have been there, or the sort of writing that would have inevitably appeared, had it been all Peele's—from a knowledge of his writing. I am not referring here to grossness of quality. See note at l. 124, dealing with two slight scenes (of Q) omitted from final play. Note the reduction of repetition of "head" in Cade's speech (105-112) and around it.

IV. viii. The scene between Buckingham with Clifford and Cade in Q has been entirely rewritten by Shakespeare. I have given in a note at l. 14, several arguments pointing to Peele as the writer of the original, which need not be repeated here. Cade's speech (in Q) is quite impossible. Peele must have been thinking of his Parson Ball in *Jack Straw*. In altering this extravagant departure, Shakespeare dealt gently with his coadjutor's work leaving in the feather simile and "through the midst of you"—but Cade is spoiled. He becomes too wise and eloquent. Cade's speech in Q (the one preceding the feather speech) is entirely appropriate to Parson Ball's principles in *Jack Straw*, see note at l. 26, but not to the present rebellion. Shakespeare has left it so in matter, but not in the same words. And he has imported into it the "ravish your wives" of the omitted scene or passage between Dick, Sergeant and Cade, also belonging to the *Jack Straw* system. See note at l. 29.

IV. ix. The preliminary speech of the King's is added by Shakespeare to the situation. In Q, Buckingham, Clifford, and the Rebels with halters, together, and Clifford addresses the King with their submission, which Henry receives, with the news of Cade's flight, and makes a pious thankful speech. To which say, *All.* "God save the King, God save the King." This is the whole of Scene ix. in Q, accounting for that in the facsimile, Scene ix. being treated as non-existent. Probably by Peele in Q. The King's speech that follows it (unrepresented in *2 Henry VI.*): "Come let us haste to London" is in the stock style of either Peele or Greene, but more like Peele who uses "laud" (noun) several times. The rest of the scene is wholly Shakespeare's. See notes.

IV. x. Note the realistic stage instruction. In Q Cade is coarser, using an objectionable expression (omitted here) and used before (at viii. 63) and omitted also. He indulges also in unsuitable language, "Thou hast slaine the flower of Kent for chivalry," which Shakespeare refused, but admitted word for word (Kent=Europe) into Part III. But "best blood of the Realme" in Q is not much more unsuitable to Cade (speaking of himself) than his "unconquered soul" in Part II. Too

many cooks spoilt Cade. There are signs of Nashe. See notes at 57-59. And for Peele, see note at last line, and observe Iden's *verse*, in finished scene as a foil to the prose of Cade. In Iden's last speech in the finished play—a very revolting one—we have the version of Stafford (IV. ii. 122, 123) recalled, and certainly those murderous wretches are entitled to no gentle thoughts. It is very different in Q however. One is inclined to suggest Marlowe's hand, or at any rate his influence. One might also suggest that it was a relief to escape for a little from the strain of Henry's elaborated and unpleasing piety. It is the boastfulness of the victor that makes up the needless brutality.

v. i. 1-5. Agrees with Q very closely, and here Peele seems to have opened; but Marlowe has similar lines, which are merely descriptive of what took place. From this point to the entry of King Henry (55) the part is rewritten (by Shakespeare) and nearly doubled in length. In Q we have again those wretched lines about leaving Somerset, and the towns in France, the former is saved for 61 below. But the latter we have three times elsewhere in the play. Several other lines in Q are accounted for, three in York's last speech (44-47), and "these abject terms" (25). There is no proof here that this part is due to Peele in Q, beyond the improvement in the later stage which is after all not remarkable. There is proof of the revision being Shakespeare's in several places. See note at "Ajax Telamonius" (26). But he never wrote "approach so neere. . . . Whereas the person of the king doth keep." See note at 22. From the entry of King Henry we are assured of Shakespeare's hand, he is accountable for him always, and has modified the description of Cade's head, adding the usual religious exclamations or sentiments. Compare Peele's knighting again with *Jach Straw*, and Sir William Walworth, already noted upon (79). The Q description of Cade's head recalls Marlowe again. See notes at 71-79.

v. i. 87-105. York's speech is wholly rewritten by Shakespeare. He used one line of the original in Q above (6): "Nor will I subject be to such a king, that knowes not how to governe nor to rule"; and again here at 94. Points like these enforce the conviction that Shakespeare had a large share in Q here, and the Marlovian passages may be regarded simply as the results of examples set. We have here some of the plumes that worried Greene (100).

v. i. 105-216 (end of scene). Forty-eight lines in Q are expanded into a hundred and ten. Both are absolutely by the same hand, Shakespeare's, and the steady bettering in metre, in imagery and in poetic dignity is most noticeable. It is not true to say the Q is rewritten here—it is added to, and in a harmonious way that could only belong to the one writer of both. The chief addition lies in King Henry, what he says or what is said to him. He is only allowed three lines in Q, but his growth in the full play is always attended to.

v. ii. There is considerable alteration in composition and structure in this scene from one copy to the other. Peele opens it with his prophecy, which is shortened and removed from its too prominent position in the revision. There is much evidence of Peele in Q and not much

of Shakespeare; *vice versâ* there is little of Peele left in, and we find numerous undoubted evidences of Shakespeare in the final play. I refer to my note at the end of the scene, at the word "uncurable" (86). There is no need for repetition. There is one pair of lines (14, 15), identical in both plays (nearly), which belong to Shakespeare, and which he repeats (nearly) in *3 Henry VI.* II. iv. 11, 12. One of the many little strands in those complicated plays that bind them together with a rope of undivided, or at least of prominent, if not single, authorship. When Peele's prophecy was cut short, we may allot to him the line "Priests pray for enemies, but princes kill" (71), not altogether on the grounds of inferiority—he clung to alliterative clauses; such as "for want of a priest the priest's part I will play" (518, b), and "Meat of a princess, for a princess meet" (428, b). Another startling line in this scene (4), "And dead men's cries do fill the empty air" may be given to Peele. He has a very similar one in *Jack Straw:* "That fill'd the air with cries and fearful noise" (395). From Spenser. By dead men he means ghosts. Peele was fond of ghosts who talked. He has a jocular ghost in *Old Wives' Tale* (455, b); a good idea. Just below there are two omitted lines of prose poetry undoubtedly Peele's; he has "hew a passage with your conquering swords" in *A Farewell to the General* (549, b). "Fainting troops" (failing in courage) is not Shakespeare's, probably Peele's or Marlowe. Another line in this scene "Come stand not to expostulate, let 's go" at the end of Q, which is here omitted, is used in *3 Henry VI.* II. v. 135 to close.

v. iii. seems to be a joint production of Peele and Shakespeare in Q. "Thickest throng" omitted here, and omitted again from *True Tragedie* is noted on in *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 13. The parallels between Clifford's fightings here and in *3 Henry VI.* afford several similarities. But the last two scenes in this play betray a weariness of the work. There are reminders again of Marlowe in Q ("faint heart," "eternised," "thickest throng"), but he would have thrown much more carnage about were it his work. Peele copies him in a mild way. See note at line 7.

VII. Evidences of Greene or Nashe in *2 Henry VI.*

From the preceding section it will be surmised that I do not attach great weight to such evidence—but nevertheless it must be dealt with and summarised.

The most prominent reminders of Greene are the Abradas one at IV. i. 108 in Q. We may regard this as one of the plumes whose pulling hurt Greene, and it might also be argued that Shakespeare relieved himself of the imputation by erasing it in Part II. For the scene is by Shakespeare.

The other prominent passage is the Achilles' spear allusion (V. i. 100). But that was common property perhaps. See note. Several minor echoes occur (such as "alderliefest" "my

princely head," "map of honour") but they are of little consequence. Several more that have been confidently advanced as Greene's by previous editors are, my notes will show, unavailing. Some, such as "pick a sallet" (IV. x. 8), though only illustrated by me from Greene, have merely a fictitious value and quite likely were commonly used.

Marlowe's influence appears in several places. Whether he appears himself is beyond decision finally, perhaps. I do not find myself able to come to a conclusion that he does so appear. Some of his case disappears if the *Edward II.* passages are regarded as taken from here by him. See I. iii. 49, 50; I. iii. 79; III. i. 282. The middle one of these Marlovian passages is not in the first edition, but appears in Q 3 (1619). The others are in Q, and also in *2 Henry VI.* but altered, especially the last. It may be said therefore that Marlowe wrote these passages into Q, and made use of his own property in *Edward II.* The fact of Shakespeare altering or omitting them as his own final work, points the same way.

In *The Contention* also I. iv. 14-20 (in this play), is undoubtedly Marlowe's work, carefully revised out of recognition as his in *2 Henry VI.*

But Marlowe in connection with *Henry VI.* is best considered by a study of *Tamburlaine* (both parts), and I reserve that for Introduction to Part III. Very interesting conclusions are arrived at.

There remains but the young Juvenal, Nashe. He appears here and there in meteoric fashion, much as he did, but not so vividly, in *1 Henry VI.* Close below Abradas (IV. i. 134, 135), the terms "bezonian" and "banditto," are best illustrated from Nashe's writings. In the Cade scenes also Nashe is recalled, as in the "cade of herrings" (IV. ii. 34); in the "hooped pots" and "small beer" (IV. ii. 66-68); "burly-boned" and "hob nails" (IV. x. 57-59). Nashe may have learned all these things here. Nashe's work being mainly prose, is not to be traced in poetry, except sporadically.

VIII. Other Influences: Bible, Golding.

There are a good many Biblical passages referred to. They come in with King Henry's pious tone of language. The references here are to A.V. (1611), which of course was not Shake-

speare's Bible. Notes at some passages, therefore, become historically unavailing, as for example at slaughter-men in Part I. III. iii. 75. I have checked the ones referred to with an earlier version, the Geneva text, I. iii. 37; I. ii. 64; II. i. 184; II. iii. 25 (A.V. reads lamp; R.V. lost an opportunity); III. i. 71; III. i. 381; IV. vii. 31; IV. ix. 13; IV. iv. 37; V. ii. 33-35. In another reference (IV. iv. 10) both examples of "perish by the sword" in Job read "pass by the sword" in the earlier versions. (See, however, Matthew xxvii.) The above cullings do not exhaust the examples in my notes.

A number of parallels have been adduced from Golding's *Ovid*, a favourite volume with Shakespeare in his early days. I refer to this with the proviso that the examples from Golding are not cited as necessarily containing the earliest use of the expressions dealt with. Generally speaking they do. See I. iii. 75; II. i. 17; III. ii. 103; III. ii. 162; III. ii. 315; III. ii. 358; III. ii. 371, 391; III. ii. 403; III. iii. 16; IV. i. 62; IV. i. 84, 85; IV. ii. 124; IV. ii. 148; IV. ii. 82; IV. ii. 124. Several of these are desiderata in *New Eng. Dict.*

In order to economise space the words or phrases illustrated are not quoted here (as in Part I. Introduction). But in most cases they will be found worth turning to, and I plead for their examination.

It is well known that Drayton affords several parallels in his *Heroical Epistles*. It is enough to refer to them. They are obviously from Shakespeare in these plays at the same situations, on which they were founded.

IX. Spenser.

I had intended merely to collect and refer to the passages where my notes indicate that the author of *2 Henry VI.* had Spenser in his memory. But on closer examination of the selected ones, I found they were of more importance than I thought. These are conspicuous examples—very likely there are others. They disclose an interesting fact—with barely one exception they do not occur in *The Contention.*

I. ii. 11-13. *Put forth thy hand . . . heaved it up. Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 14: "His heavie hand he heaved up on hie."

II. i. 18. *The treasury of everlasting joy. Astrophel*, st. 27: "And her faire brest, the threasury of joy, She spoyled thereof and filled with annoy."

II. ii. 26. *As all you know.* All refers to two expressly here, and again (as Malone pointed out) in *2 Henry IV.* III. i. 35. Compare *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 61: "The dead knight's sword out of his sheath he drew, With which he cutt a lock of all their haire. Which medling with their blood and earth he threw Into the grave." All are the parents, Mordant and Amaria.

III. iii. 22. *the busy meddling fiend That lays strong siege unto this wretch's soul. Faerie Queene*, II. xi. 8, 9: "All those were lawlesse lustes . . . Those same against the bulwarke of the sight Did lay strong siege." And II. xi. 5 (in a literal sense): "that wicked band of villeins . . . lay strong siege about it."

IV. i. 3-5. *the jades that drag . . . the night . . . with flagging wings.* The Dragon in *Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 10 has "His flaggy wings, when forth he did display, Were like two sayles." Possibly the adoption of the dragon's wings here explains how Shakespeare in other places (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Cymbeline*), makes the horses of the night (Ovid's noctis equi) dragons; a much finer conception when Spenser's dragon is considered.

IV. viii. 44. *I see them lording it in London Streets* (playing the lord). Spenser, *Shepheards Calender*, July. "They reigne and rulen over all, And lord it as they list."

V. ii. 4. *cries do fill the empty air.* See note. This from *Jack Straw* in a Peele part, rather than Shakespeare's. But "empty air" is in *Faerie Queene*, I. viii. 17: "scourging th' emptie ayre with his long trayne"—probably earlier than *Faerie Queene?*

V. ii. 52. *tears virginal.* Compare *Faerie Queene:* "mildnesse virginall" (II. ix. 20); and "honour virginall" (II. i. 10).

For further proof of Shakespeare's indebtedness to or affection for *Faerie Queene*, I must refer to my Introduction to Part I., where it is more evident. But a good deal of my evidence there relates to this play also. I think there is sufficient to show it in both cases. How does it happen then that little or no sign of that great poem appears in *The Contention*, where I maintain that Shakespeare had a considerable share? I answer that by the following positions:—

Shakespeare had no knowledge of the *Faerie Queene* until it was a published work in 1590.

The Contention was written before 1590. Any evidence or influence of Spenser in that play may be Peele's work; as for example at the last line quoted (V. ii. 4); and the adjectives with "thrice-" which Peele had worked out long before, and which occur in *The Contention;* and those numerical emphases of "ten thousand," and "Thrice . . . Thrice . . . And twice"; and the line-formations of "Was never" . . . "The fairest

ever . . ."—all of these are from earlier works than *Faerie Queene.*

Peele, being a Londoner, was probably long in possession of a copy of, or a knowledge of the manuscript of *Faerie Queene* (written as early as 1580); which Marlowe quotes from as early as 1586. Shakespeare, recently come to town, may not have had this advantage until its printed appearance.

These assumptions, if well founded, would place the Q or First Part of *The Contention* before 1590; *1 Henry VI.* immediately after, or in, 1590; followed closely by *2 Henry VI.* Certainly *The Contention* has all the appearance of being an earlier play than *1 Henry VI.*, although it follows it historically. That is, however, a matter of detail. There is more evidence to be brought forward.

X. Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie.*

One of the few plays preceding "harey the vj." in Henslowe's *Diary* is "spanes comodye donne oracoe." This may or may not be the *Spanish Tragedy*—Boas says not. But a little below comes *Jeronymo* the 14th of March, 1591, just a week after *Henry the Sixth.* This is no doubt *The Spanish Tragedy.* It is the only play therein that rivals *Henry the Sixth* in popularity, judging from its appearances; and from external evidence no play of the time got such a hold of the people's fancy as the old *Jeronymo.* The earliest known dated edition is that of 1594. But an undated edition in the British Museum is probably of 1592, in which year *The Spanish Tragedy* was entered in the Stationers' registers.

I mention this much because the correlation of the date of this play with the plays here dealt with is of much interest. Ben Jonson's words in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) are taken literally by Boas, and are his main argument for a date possibly as early as 1584. Jonson's words are "He that will swear *Ieronimo* or *Andronicus* are the best plays yet, shall pass unexcepted at here as a man whose judgment shows it is constant, and hath stood still these five and twenty or thirty years." Therefore says Boas: "This fixes the date between 1584-9." In my opinion it does not. Jonson was born in 1573, and at the age of ten or eleven his observations on plays would be a little too previous. His first connection with the stage was in

1597. These years, I take it, are merely a random shot equivalent to "when I was a boy." The coupling of two plays makes the remark yet vaguer. But one piece of evidence that is quite reliable is found in Nashe's famous preface to Greene's *Menaphon* in 1589, where Kyd receives rough handling. This has been ably dealt with by Professor J. Selrick in his excellent edition of *The Spanish Tragedy* (Dent & Co., 1898). No doubt then the play was written before 1589, and since it appears to be a pre-Armada play, dealing as it does with bits of Peninsular history with no allusion to the coming invasion, or to the preparations against it—it may date to 1587-8. There are many more arguments, very subtle ones, tending to an earlier allocation. But enough has been said to show that it probably preceded the First Part of *Henry VI.* taking that as "harey the vj." in Henslowe. Preceded it, I mean, in composition. Let us examine the internal evidence of parallels, or loans, that I have collected. Once a play was acted, it must be remembered, quotations from it were regarded as public property. No known play was ever so promptly afforded this proof of popularity, that of being immediately quoted from, as *The Spanish Tragedy.* Shakespeare himself quotes from it in *The Taming of the Shrew* (Induction, ll. 7-10).

In these excerpts I shall, if necessary, include *Cornelia* (undoubtedly Kyd's); and *Soliman and Perseda,* certainly Kyd's (in part). The two prose pieces (*The Householder's Philosophie,* and *The Murder of Iohn Brewen*) included in Professor Boas's edition of Kyd are not dealt with. With regard to these plays of Kyd's and their dates, together with that of *Arden of Feversham* (1592) ascribed to Kyd by Fleay and proved, I think, to be so by Mr. Charles Crawford, I will make some further remarks a little later, embodying the results of Mr. Crawford's careful researches. Let us first see how matters stand in the present inquiry, with regard to that epoch-making piece *The Spanish Tragedy.* And in order to present a total result we may consider here the effect of that play on the whole Henry VI. series.

1 Henry VI. and *The Spanish Tragedy* may be rapidly disposed of. Two expressions only are common to both, that demand notice so far as I have observed. To have a fling at a person (III. i. 64) is in III. xii. 21 of Kyd's play, but it is

earlier in Greene's *Mamillia* and elsewhere. And "to exclaim *on* a person" (III. iii. 60) is well illustrated from *The Spanish Tragedy* (III. xiv. 70). These being the only ones, show with emphasis that there is no community of thought or workmanship between the two plays. There is, however, one exception. The general's stirring and elaborate description of the battle (I. ii. 22-84) illustrates almost every unfamiliar military expression of the time: as "squadrons pitched" (IV. ii. 23); "Cornet" (IV. iii. 25); "chosen shot" (I. iv. 53). And a little later in *The Spanish Tragedy* (I. iv. 60-65), where another short notice of the battle appears, "wondrous feats of arms" is paralleled in *1 Henry VI.* I. i. 64.

There is an important bearing in these latter parallels. They are found in many cases in Peele's work, from whom I have illustrated some of them ("launciers," not in Shakespeare, is in Peele), and they point to a conclusion borne out in many other ways and places that Peele made free use of Kyd, either copying him or working in parallel lines. There is much military writing in *The Battle of Alcazar* (later than *The Spanish Tragedy ?*) of the same description. As a concise whole, Kyd's battle-piece probably fixed itself at once as an exemplar in the minds of the dramatists. But as all used some well-known text-book of the time on warfare, too much stress cannot be laid here.

2 Henry VI., and *The Spanish Tragedy.*

Act I.

I. i. 180. *Behoves it us to labour for the realm. The Spanish Tragedy*, IV. iii. 27: "Behooues thee then, Hieronimo, to be reuenged." Not in Q.

I. i. 214. *the state of Normandy, Stands on a tickle point, now they are gone. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. iv. 78: "Now stands our fortune on a tickle point." Not in Q.

I. i. 256. *And, force perforce, I'll make him yield the crown. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. ix. 12: "Well, force perforce, I must constraine myselfe To patience, and apply me to the time." Not in Q (but it is in *True Tragedy* at *3 Henry VI.* II. iii. 5; it is omitted there in *3 Henry VI.*, but Shakespeare uses it elsewhere in *King John* and *2 Henry IV.*)

I. i. 81. *And did my brother Bedford toil his wits, To keep ? The Spanish Tragedy*, III. vi. 8: "This toyles my body, this consumeth age." Not in Q.

I. ii. 79. *A spirit raised from depth of underground. The Spanish*

Tragedy, I. vi. 1, 2. *Andrea* (*Ghost*): "Come we for this from depth of under ground, To see him feast that gave me my deaths wound?" See again II. i. 172, below. In Q.

I. ii. 88. *Marry and shall. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. xiv. 156: "I marry, my Lord, and shall." Not in Q. See below at *3 Henry VI.* v. v. 42. It occurs also in *1 Henry IV.* v. ii. 34; in *Richard III.* III. iv. 36; in *True Tragedy* and in *3 Henry VI.* v. v. 42.

I. ii. 90. *The business asketh silent secrecy. The Spanish Tragedy*, II. iv. 23: "Why sit we not? for pleasure asketh ease." Not in Q.

I. iii. 22. *I am but a poor petitioner for a whole township. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. xiii. 46: "Heere are a sort of poore Petitioners." In Q.

I. iv. 39. *Descend the darkness and the burning lake. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. i. 55: "Ile lend a hand to send thee to the lake, Where those thy words shall perish with thy workes"; III. xii. 11: "the lake where hell doth stand." Not in Q.

I. iv. 14. *to this gear, the sooner the better. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. vi. 23: "come on, when shall we to this geere?" *Ibid.* 42, 43: "To doo what, my fine officious knave?" *Hangman.* "To goe to this geere" (but probably older). Not in Q.

Act II.

II. i. 172. *Raising up wicked spirits from underground. The Spanish Tragedy*, I. vi. 1, 2 (quoted above at I. ii. 79).

II. iv. 34. *The ruthless flint doth cut my tender feet. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. vii. 71: "Wearing the flints with these my withered feet." "Ruthless" is in the *The Spanish Tragedy*, I. iv. 23. In Q.

Act III.

III. i. 54. *As next the king he was successive heir. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. i. 14: "The onely hope of our successive line." Not in Q. Better in Marlowe.

III. i. 272. *Say but the word and I will be his priest. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. iii. 37: "Who first laies hands on me, Ile be his Priest." This is from the Watch's scene in *The Spanish Tragedy* which furnished a hint or two for *3 Henry VI.* IV. ii. Not in Q.

III. i. 302, 303. *a raging fire of wind and fuel be brought to feed it with. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. x. 74: "That were to adde more fewell to your fire." See *3 Henry VI.* v. iv. 70. Not in Q.

III. i. 325. *And so break off; the day is almost spent. The Spanish Tragedy*, IV. iv. 74: "Here breake we off our sundrie languages." Not in Q.

III. i. 331. *Now, York, or never, steel thy fearful thoughts. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. iv. 29: "Now, Pedringano, or never play the man." See *3 Henry VI.* IV. iii. 24. Also in Peele. Not in Q. See *3 Henry VI.*

III. ii. 142, 143. *to draine Upon his face an ocean of salt tears. The Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 23: "To drowne thee with an ocean of my teares." Not in Q.

III. ii. 318. *My hair be fixed on end as one distract. The Spanish*

Tragedy, III. xii. 89: "Distract and in a manner lunaticke." But in earlier use. In Q.

III. ii. 340. *That I may dew it (thy hand) with my mournful tears. The Spanish Tragedy*, I. iv. 36: "There laid him downe, and dew'd him with my teares." And twice in *Cornelia*. Not in Q.

III. ii. 404. *though parting be a fretful corrosive It is applied to a deathful wound. The Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 22: "darke and deathfull shades." And for applied, meaning adapted (suitable), see quotation at I. i. 256, above. "Fretful" here, is earliest in *New Eng. Dict.* (1593?). See Kyd's *Cornelia*, v. i. 352: "Say, freatfull heavens, what fault have I committed?" And l. 387, "thy freatfull ielosie." The latter expression occurs also in *Arden of Feversham* (see Crawford's *Concordance*), 1592. Deathful, meaning deadly, was an old, but a rarely used word. Not in Q.

ACT IV.

IV. i. 101. *And to conclude, reproach, etc. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. xiii. 20: "And to conclude, I will revenge his death." Again in *Cornelia*. See also *3 Henry VI.* II. v. 47. Not in Q.

IV. ii. 179. *hang'd up for example. . . . The Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 10: "A man hang'd up." Not in Q.

IV. vii. 124. *as free as heart can wish (think* Q), *or tongue can tell. The Spanish Tragedy*, I. i. 57, 58: "I saw more sights then thousand tongues can tell, Or pennes can write, or mortall harts can think." In Q. See, however, Halliwell's note about "ancient grants" in his edition of Q.

3 HENRY VI. AND *THE SPANISH TRAGEDY.*

ACT I.

I. i. 13. *Whom I encountered as the battles join'd;* and II. i. 13. *Methought he bore him in the thickest troop, As doth a lion. The Spanish Tragedy*, I. iii. 60, 61: "When both the armies were in battell ioynd, Dom Balthazar, amidst the thickest troupes, To winne renowne did wondrous feates of armes." The first is in Q, the second not in Q (here). "Wondrous feats" is in *1 Henry VI.* I. ii. 64 (already noted). See at Marlowe, Introduction, Part III. Here is evidence of *Tamburlaine* in *The Spanish Tragedy*.

I. iv. 115. *To triumph, like an Amazonian trull, Upon their woes whom fortune captivates. The Spanish Tragedy*, II. i. 130, 131: "Thus hath he tane my body by his force, And now by sleight would captivate my soule." In Q.

ACTS I.-II.

I. iv. 49. *I stain'd this napkin with the blood That valiant Clifford with his rapier's point, Made issue from the bosom of the boy.* And II. i. 62: *The ruthless queen gave him to dry his cheeks A napkin steeped in the Harmless blood Of sweet young Rutland. The Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 52, 53: "Seest thou this handkercher besmerd with blood? It shall not from me till I take reuenge." And IV. iv. 122-124: "this bloudie hand-kercher,

Which at Horatios death I weaping dipt Within the riuer of his bleeding wounds." In Q the queen says: "I dipt this napkin in the blood" (first passage); and the messenger says: "gaue him a handkercher . . . dipt in the blood" (second passage). Not unlikely *The Spanish Tragedy* furnished the idea. Note Shakespeare's developed uses of "issue."

ACT II.

II. i. 187. *Ne'er may he live to see a sunshine day, That cries "retire."* *The Spanish Tragedy*, III. vi. 5, 6: "But shall I never live to see the day That I may come." In Q. (Very likely older but I have no example.)

II. ii. 124. *By Him that made us all, I am resolved, That.* *The Spanish Tragedy*, II. i. 89: "I sweare to both, by him that made us all." In Q (a line lost here?)

II. iii. 40. *thy brazen gates of heaven may ope, And give sweet passage to my sinful soul.* *The Spanish Tragedy*, III. vii. 9, 10: "And broken through the brazen gates of hell, Yet still tormented, is my tortured soule." In Q.

II. v. 47. *And to conclude, the shepherd's homely curds, etc.* See *2 Henry VI.* above, IV. i. 101. Not in Q.

ACT III.

III. i. 42-47. Compare this with Balthazar's speech, *The Spanish Tragedy*, I. ii. 161-165: "To him in curtesie, to this perforce: He spake me faire, this other gave me strokes; He promisde life, this other threatned death; He wan my love, this other conquered me; And sooth to say I yield myselfe to both." In Q.

III. i. 57. *A man at least, for less I should not be.* *The Spanish Tragedy*, I. iv. 40: "Yet this I did, and lesse I could not doe: I saw him honoured." In Q.

III. ii. 33-35. *Lords, give us leave . . . Ay, good leave have you; for you will take leave, Till youth take leave and leave you to the crutch.* *The Spanish Tragedy*, III. xi. 1-3: "By your leaue Sir. *Hier.* Good leave have you: nay, I pray you goe, For Ile leaue you if you can leaue me so." In Q.

III. ii. 58, 59. *'tis the fruits of love I mean. L. Grey. The fruits of love I mean, my love's liege.* *The Spanish Tragedy*, II. iv. 55: "I thus, and thus: these are the fruits of love. They stab him." Not in Q.

III. iii. 55-59. *to grant . . . thy fair sister To England's king in lawful marriage. Queen. If that go forward Henry's hope is done.* *The Spanish Tragedy*, II. iii. 17, 18: "Ile grace her marriage with an uncle's life; And this it is: in case the match goe forward." In Q.

III. iii. 81. *John of Gaunt, Which did subdue the greater part of Spaine.* See *The Spanish Tragedy*, I. iv. 48-52 (quoted at passage).

III. iii. 200. *And I forgive and quite forget old faults.* *The Spanish Tragedy*, III. xiv. 112: "We have forgotten and forgiven that."

ACT IV.

IV. iii. 1-28. Compare the Watchmen's scene (not in Q) with *The Spanish Tragedy*, III. iii. 16-48 (end). See note at IV. iii. 1. First watch-

man. *Come on, my masters, each man take his stand. The Spanish Tragedy*, III. iii. 16: "Heere therefore will I stay and take my stand."

IV. iii. 20. *halberds.* See above (*The Spanish Tragedy*, III. i. 31).

IV. iii. 23. *now or never.* See Part II. III. i. 331.

IV. vii. 57. *Fie, brother, fie, stand you upon tearmes?* Q. *The Spanish Tragedy*, III. x. 20: "And if she hap to stand on tearmes with us."

ACT V.

V. iv. 34. *If case some of you would. The Spanish Tragedy*, II. i. 58: "If case it lye in me." But see note. Earlier in Peele.

V. vi. 66. *If any spark of life be yet remaining. The Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 17: "O speak if any sparke of life remaine."

V. iv. 70. *I need not add more fuel to your fire.* See above (Part II. IV. i. 302) for this expression from *The Spanish Tragedy*.

V. v. 42. *Marry, and shall.* See at *2 Henry VI.* above (I. ii. 88).

V. v. 62. *How sweet a plant have you untimely cropt. The Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 47: "Sweet lovely Rose, ill pluckt before thy time." Kyd repeats this (nearly) in *Soliman and Perseda*, v. iv.

Perhaps it is wrong to make those last references here, and not in Introduction to Part III.; but it seems better to clear the way, and finish with Kyd's play.

There is practically nothing of *The Spanish Tragedy* in *1 Henry VI.*; in the same way that that play bears little evidence of Peele's workmanship.

But in *2 Henry VI.*, and in *3 Henry VI.* (in a less degree), there is unassailable proof that *The Spanish Tragedy* was made use of. This applies, oddly enough, to the two foundation plays in an opposite direction. Were it not for a single expression (repeated), at I. ii. 79 and II. i. 172, the influence of the earlier play in *The Contention* is indiscernible. But that one cannot be lightly set aside. In *2 Henry VI.* there are enough parallels, in Shakespearian parts of the play, to make it certain that Shakespeare knew *The Spanish Tragedy* well at that time. The suggestions may have arisen from Peele who is often hard to separate from Kyd. In reading *Soliman and Perseda* Peele is constantly recalled. When Mr. Robertson followed Mr. Fleay in ascribing *Arden of Feversham* to Kyd (further established by Mr. Crawford) he says (in *Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus?* p. 153): "In *Arden* as in *Soliman*, there are several words and phrases which seem to belong to the special vocabulary of Peele." The "revenge model" (of play) was common to Peele and Kyd" (p. 85): "In one or two places

it (*Cornelia*) suggests that phrases which we have been led to assign to Peele might be Kyd's" (pp. 114, 115) and so on. Here, however, we are on firmer ground. We have the Kyd passages undoubtedly. It is likely that *The Spanish Tragedy* preceded all these plays. We find nothing of that play in *1 Henry VI.* (where Greene is chiefly in evidence besides Shakespeare), so little that it may be assumed it had not made its mark—or that Shakespeare did not know it—for I do not hesitate to say that the introduced bits of Kyd are due to him at least as much as to Peele. And the almost total absence of Kyd in *The Contention*, like the total absence of Spenser in the same play, tends to disassociate it by some space of time from *2 Henry VI.* (where both are in strong evidence), and to push it backward to a date even earlier than *1 Henry VI.* It is an interesting fact that the later standard quotations from *The Spanish Tragedy* do not appear in these plays. Probably because of their non-standardisation, as yet, by some well-graced actor. We have rather the memories of a reader.

It might be said here, would it not simplify this bit of discussion to assign a part of the authorship actually to Kyd? I would reply that it is better to confine ourselves to the original quartette—Shakespeare, Peele, Marlowe and Greene, with a possible fifth (Nashe or Lodge), to keep them in a ring-fence and let in no outsiders. That is where Greene placed the issue. Moreover, Kyd was never a chronicle drama writer, as were these four. I am aware that Mr. Fleay draws Kyd (usually with a query) into the welter two or three times in his *Life and Work of Shakespeare* (pp. 258, 270, 273, 274), but I can find no evidence from him; only the mention of the name. Further, I find Mr. Crawford says in *Collectanea* (1st series, p. 113): "An exhaustive and painstaking examination of Kyd's work convinces me that *The Spanish Tragedy*, and, perhaps, *Soliman and Perseda*, as we know them now, are old plays revised." Possibly he may have ascribed some pieces of the revision in *The Spanish Tragedy*, to a date later than *2 Henry VI.*, in order to simplify this difficulty, and let the reviser have borrowed from our play. He gives no reasons for it, and it is better to omit any further confusion of dates. He goes further still and says: "It can be proved that they did not assume any of their known forms prior to the year 1590." With regard to *The Spanish*

Tragedy, the proof will needs be very cogent indeed. With regard to the others there is no question he is right. His proof will depend on the dates of matter borrowed (probably) from Spenser or Marlowe.

But one conclusion he comes to is of interest, that "there has been gross copying by Kyd"—chiefly, it seems, from Marlowe's *Edward II.*, to which is given "the accepted date" of 1590. To place *The Spanish Tragedy* after *Edward II.*, would relegate all chronological order of those years plays to the melting pot.

These reminiscences from Kyd's play by the young author, Shakespeare, are harmless pieces of ingenuousness. They are unimportant but unmistakable, and an instance of what seems to have been a common and recognised practice (in spite of Greene's denunciations) amongst the brotherhood of actors and playwrights.

We will leave Kyd now for the present. His later work is of no such importance as *The Spanish Tragedy*, and probably comes later than *2 Henry VI.* After this date outside influences—influences outside his own teeming imagination—are an ever-diminishing factor in Shakespeare's work.

I hope Mr. Crawford, to whose accuracy and research I am continually and delightedly indebted, will forgive me for disagreeing with him in these points. Perhaps his proofs may yet be too much for me.

I leave it to my notes to point out a continuously running series of Shakespearianisms in *2 Henry VI.* It is interesting to see how many times parallels appear from *Lucrece*, from *Venus and Adonis*, and oddly enough from *King Lear.* In *1 Henry VI.* some such evidence had to be adduced, to convince, if it were possible, those unbelievers in Shakespeare's presence there at all. But I believe there are fewer supporters of those tenets nowadays.

At the end of my notes above on *The Spanish Tragedy*, I have concluded that *The Contention* preceded *2 Henry VI.* by some considerable space of time, and preceded also *1 Henry VI.* in all probability, and I conceive that this is a likely statement from the nature of the plays themselves although dislocating their natural sequence. To that question I propose to return at the proper place in Introduction to Part III. But

I was greatly satisfied to find this view confirmed by Grant White. He says, "The First Part of *King Henry the Sixth*, though primitively nude and puerile in its structure and stage effect, is much less antiquated in its fashioning, and more polished in its diction and versification, than *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedy*, and is very far superior to any other surviving play that was produced before 1590 or 1592." Nor does Part I. (in my opinion) present any appearance what ever of having been a twice written, or a re-written play. For a continuation of this line of argument, see Introduction to Part III., on *Soliman and Perseda*. And again on the parallels found in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*.

The following is P. A. Daniel's summary of his Time-analysis of this play (*New Shaks. Soc.*, 1879): "The interval between the *First* and the *Second Part of Henry VI.*, is supposed to be occupied by Suffolk's negotiations for the marriage of the King with Margaret of Anjou. . . . Time of this play, fourteen days represented on the stage: with intervals, suggesting a period in all of say, at the outside, a couple of years. Day 1. Act I. Scene i., interval (?) eighteen months: Day 2. Act I. Scenes ii.-iv. Day 3. Act II. Scenes i. and ii., interval, a month at least. Day 4. Act II. Scene iii., interval, at least two days. Day 5. Act II. Scene iv., interval, about twenty-seven days. Day 6. Act III. Scene i., interval, a few days. Day 7. Act III. Scenes ii. and iii., interval, three days or more. Day 8. Act III. Scene i. Day 9. Act IV. Scenes ii. and iii. Day 10. Act IV. Scenes iv. to vii. Day 11. Act IV. Scene viii. Day 12. Act IV. Scene ix., interval, three or four days. Day 13. Act IV. Scene x. Day 14. Act V. Historic Period, 22 April, 1445, to 23 May, 1455.

The interval between *The Second Part* and *The Third Part of Henry VI.*, is to be supposed no greater than would be required for the flight and pursuit from St. Albans to London. Richard makes his appearance in Scene i. with the head of Somerset, cut off in the battle.

In conclusion, I have to mention that my Introductions to each of these three plays cannot be judged separately. They form a continuous whole in many ways, and I have distributed my matter among them in the way that seemed feasible, according as it accumulated. I must refer to the last (3rd) Introduction

for one section, my "Table of Continued Expressions" which covers all three plays as well as the Quartos, and appeared to me a useful and desirable piece of work. Whether my conclusions find supporters or not, I have at least placed an armoury of weapons for use to demolish them in the hands of those who wish to do so. A determined believer in Marlowe's authorship will point triumphantly to the schedule of *Tamburlaine* parallels in the same Introduction as the very thing that was needed. I take another meaning from it.

THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ[1]

KING HENRY THE SIXTH.
HUMPHREY, *Duke of Gloucester, his Uncle.*
CARDINAL BEAUFORT, *Bishop of Winchester, Great-uncle to the King.*
RICHARD PLANTAGENET, *Duke of York.*
EDWARD *and* RICHARD, *his Sons.*
DUKE OF SOMERSET.
DUKE OF SUFFOLK.
DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
LORD CLIFFORD.
YOUNG CLIFFORD, *his Son.*
EARL OF SALISBURY.
EARL OF WARWICK.
LORD SCALES, *Governor of the Tower.*
LORD SAY.
SIR HUMPHREY STAFFORD *and* WILLIAM STAFFORD, *his Brother.*
SIR JOHN STANLEY.
VAUX.
MATTHEW GOFFE.[2]
WALTER WHITMORE.
A Sea Captain, Master, and Master's-Mate.
Two Gentlemen, Prisoners with Suffolk.
JOHN HUME *and* JOHN SOUTHWELL, *Priests.*
BOLINGBROKE, *a Conjurer.*
THOMAS HORNER, *an Armourer.*
PETER, *his Man.*
Clerk of Chatham.
Mayor of Saint Alban's.
SIMPCOX, *an Impostor.*
JACK CADE, *a Rebel.*
GEORGE BEVIS, JOHN HOLLAND, DICK *the Butcher*, SMITH *the Weaver*, MICHAEL, *etc., Followers of* CADE.
ALEXANDER IDEN, *a Kentish Gentleman.*
Two Murderers.

MARGARET, *Queen to King Henry.*
ELEANOR, *Duchess of Gloucester.*
MARGERY JOURDAIN, *a Witch.*
Wife to Simpcox.

Lords, Ladies, and Attendants; Herald; Petitioners, Aldermen, a Beadle, Sheriff, and Officers; Citizens, 'Prentices, Falconers, Guards, Soldiers, Messengers, etc.

A Spirit.

SCENE: In various Parts of England.

[1] *Dramatis Personæ*] Cambridge (first given imperfectly by Rowe).
[2] Matthew Goffe] Cambridge.

THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH

ACT I

SCENE I.—*London. The palace.*

Flourish of trumpets: then hautboys. Enter the KING, *Duke* HUMPHREY, SALISBURY, WARWICK, *and Cardinal* BEAUFORT *on the one side; the* QUEEN, *led in by* SUFFOLK; YORK, SOMERSET, *and* BUCKINGHAM, *on the other.*

Suf. As by your high imperial majesty
I had in charge at my depart for France,

NOTE

COLLATION: The text being that of the First Folio, notice is taken only of variations from it, in order to save space to present the parallel lines in THE CONTENTION to the reader. THE CONTENTION, first printed in 1594, is the foundation of the present play. It is styled here Q 1. A second edition (Q 2) appeared in 1600; and a third (Q 3) in 1619. All preceded the Folio, 1623. Q 2 contains a few important corrections. Q 3 has only trifling literal variations from Q 2. The text of Q 1 is that printed in Cambridge Shakespeare, vol. ix.

1. *majesty*] *Maiesties command* Q 1.

1-3. *As by . . . procurator*] The opening of this play is a direct continuation from Part I. In the last speech, Suffolk announces his departure to procure Lady Margaret; he has now returned to present her to the king. The espousals are thus told in Grafton (The XXIIJ Yere): "This noble company came to the Citie of Toures in Tourayne, where they were honorably receyued both of the French King, and of the King of Sicile. Where the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to King Henry, espoused the sayde Lady, in the Church of saint Martins. At which mariage were present . . . the Dukes of Orleaunce, of Calaber, of Alaunson, and of Britayne, Seauen Erles, xij Barons, xx Bishops, beside knightes and gentlemen. There were triumphant Iustes, costly feastes, and delicate banquets . . . these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Lady Margaret to him delyuered, which in great estate, he conueyed through Normandy to Deepe, and so transported her into Englande, where she landed at Portesmouth, in the Moneth of Aprill." She was "coupled in matrimonie" at "the toun of Southwike in Hamshire," after which "she was . . . conveyed to London, and so to Westminster, where upon the xxx day of May, she . . . was crowned Queene" (p. 625).

1. *your high imperial majesty*] Shakespeare uses this expression "*your most imperial majesties*" in *Henry V.* v. ii. 26. Compare Greene, *James the Fourth* (xiii. 219): "Most gratious and *imperiall Maiestie*." Marlowe preferred "imperious"; Shakespeare is about equally divided.

2. *at my depart*] Compare Greene,

As procurator to your excellence,
To marry Princess Margaret for your grace,
So, in the famous ancient city, Tours,
In presence of the Kings of France and Sicil,
The Dukes of Orleans, Calaber, Bretagne, and Alençon,
Seven earls, twelve barons, and twenty reverend bishops,
I have performed my task, and was espoused:
And humbly now upon my bended knee,
In sight of England and her lordly peers,
Deliver up my title in the queen
To your most gracious hands, that are the substance
Of that great shadow I did represent;
The happiest gift that ever marquess gave,
The fairest queen that ever king received.

King. Suffolk, arise. Welcome, Queen Margaret:
I can express no kinder sign of love
Than this kind kiss. O Lord! that lends me life,
Lend me a heart replete with thankfulness;
For thou hast given me in this beauteous face
A world of earthly blessings to my soul,
If sympathy of love unite our thoughts.

Queen. Great King of England and my gracious lord,

3. *to*] *for* Q 1. 5. *famous ancient* [*auncient famous* Q 1. 8. *twenty*] *then the* Q 1. 9. *have performed*] *did performe* Q 1. 10. *humbly now upon*] *now, most humbly on* Q 1. *knee*] *knees* Q 1. 11. *lordly*] *royall* Q 1. 13. *To your most gracious hands*] *Vnto your gratious excellence* Q 1. 16. *received*] *possest* Q 1. 17-19. *Queen Margaret . . . kind kiss*] *Queene Margaret to English Henries Court, The greatest shew of kindnesse yet we can bestow, Is this kinde kisse* Q 1. 19. *O . . . life*] 20. *Oh gracious God of heaven* Q 1. 21. *For . . . face*] 22. *For in this beautious face thou hast bestowde* Q 1. 22. *earthly . . . soul*] 23. *pleasures to my perplexed soule* Q 1. 23. *If sympathy . . . thoughts*] omitted Q 1. 24-31. *Great King . . . doth minister*] 24-29, *Th' excessive love I beare unto your grace, Forbids me to be lavish of my tongue.*

James the Fourth (xiii. 212): "And since thy griefe exceeds in *my depart*, I leave my Dorithea." He has it several times again in the same play. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. See again *3 Henry VI.* IV. i. 92; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, V. iv. 96. Not uncommon and usually as here.

3. *procurator*] substitute, procurer for another. Only here in Shakespeare. From the Chroniclers.

11. *lordly*] Occurs only in *1* and *2 Henry VI.* and *Lucrece*. See note at Part I. III. i. 43. "*Lordly* peers" occurs a second time in Q at line 36 below. One of the most noticeable points in the remodelling of the old play is the regular reduction of repetitions. See note at "proud prelate," line 140. Greene uses it more than once.

13, 14. *substance . . . shadow*] See note at *1 Henry VI.* V. iv. 133-135. And at *Merry Wives of Windsor*, II. ii. 216, 217 (Arden edition, p. 95).

15, 16. *The happiest . . . The fairest*] See Introduction to Part I. A Spenserian construction. Compare the lines beginning "A braver . . . A gentler" in Part I. III. ii. 134, 135.

20. *replete with*] See Part I. I. i. 11 and I. vi. 15 (notes).

22. *A world of*] See Part I. II. ii. 48 and IV. iv. 25 (notes). Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 399): "a mean to shed *a world of* blood."

24. *lavish of my tongue*] Omitted here, but in Q is noted elsewhere. An older expression than "lavish tongue."

I i 16

received Q possest

The mutual conference that my mind hath had
By day, by night, waking, and in my dreams,
In courtly company, or at my beads,
With you mine alderliefest sovereign,
Makes me the bolder to salute my king
With ruder terms, such as my wit affords,
And over joy of heart doth minister.

King. Her sight did ravish, but her grace in speech,
Her words y-clad with wisdom's majesty,
Makes me from wondering fall to weeping joys;
Such is the fulness of my heart's content.
Lords, with one cheerful voice welcome my love.

All [*kneeling*]. Long live Queen Margaret, England's happiness!

Queen. We thank you all. [*Flourish.*

Suf. My lord protector, so it please your grace,
Here are the articles of contracted peace
Between our sovereign and the French King Charles,
For eighteen months concluded by consent.

Glou. "Imprimis, It is agreed between the French King Charles and William de la Pole, Marquess of Suffolk, ambassador for Henry King of England, that the said Henry shall espouse the Lady Margaret, daughter unto

Least I should speake more than beseemes a woman; Let this suffice, my blisse is in your liking, And nothing can make poore Margaret miserable, Vnlesse the frowne of mightie Englands King Q 1. 32-36. *Her sight . . . my love*] *Her lookes did wound, but now her speech doth pierce, Lovely| Queene Margaret sit down by my side: And vnckle Gloster, and you Lordly Peeres, With one voice welcome my beloued Queene* Q 1. 38. [*Flourish*] *Sound trumpets* (after *We thank you all* 35) Q 1. 40. *of contracted*] 37. *confirmde of* Q 1. 42. *For . . . consent*] 39. *Till terme of eighteene months be full expirde.* 46. *shall espouse*] 42, 43. *shal wed and espouse* Q 1. 46. *unto*] *to* Q 1.

28. *alderliefest*] dearest of all. Not again in Shakespeare. Greene has "mine aldertruest love" in *James the Fourth* (Grosart, xiii. 322). "Alderliefest" occurs several times in Chaucer, from "alder," the old genitive plural of "all." See *New Eng. Dict.* in v. *All*, D 3. It was in use down to 1600. Not in Q.

31. *over joy*] greater, higher joy. "Over" is an adjective here. "Lavish of my tongue," in Q (25), is noted on at "lavish tongue," Part I. II. v. 47. In the same speech "Let this suffice" (27) is a Shakespearian expression. See *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 235; *2 Henry IV.* III. ii. 178. It is in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* several times. Not in Q.

33. *y-clad*] an archaism, at this time; the old past participle with *ge*. It was latest used perhaps in "yclept," as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 242 (ycleped) and v. ii. 602 (ycliped); "y-ravished" and "y-slaked" are in *Pericles*. Greene has "yblent" (viii. 122). Spenser employs it very commonly. Not in Q.

34. *weeping joys*] Malone says: "This *weeping joy*, of which there is no trace in the original play, Shakespeare was extremely fond of; having introduced it in *Much Ado About Nothing*, *King Richard II.*, *Macbeth* and *King Lear*."

43. *Imprimis*] in the first place. See again *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 274, 302, and *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. i. 68, IV. iii. 135. In Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (1590) and Greene's *Looking Glasse for London* (*ante* 1592) in trivial use.

Reignier King of Naples, Sicilia, and Jerusalem, and
crown her Queen of England ere the thirtieth of May
next ensuing. Item, that the duchy of Anjou and
the county of Maine shall be released and delivered
to the king her father"— [*Lets the paper fall.*

King. Uncle, how now!

Glou. Pardon me, gracious lord;
Some sudden qualm hath struck me at the heart
And dimmed mine eyes, that I can read no further.

King. Uncle of Winchester, I pray, read on.

Car. "Item, It is further agreed between them, that the
duchies of Anjou and Maine shall be released and de-
livered over to the king her father, and she sent over
of the King of England's own proper cost and charges,
without having any dowry."

King. They please us well. Lord marquess, kneel down:
We here create thee the first Duke of Suffolk,

47. *Raynard . . . Sicilia*] 44. *Regnier . . . Cyssels* Q 1. 48. *thirtieth of May next ensuing*] 45. 30 *of the next month* Q 1. 49. *Item, that*] 46. *Item. It is further agreed betweene them that* Q 1. "Q 1" will be omitted in future; collations not otherwise referenced will belong to Q 1. 50. *delivered*] 47. *delivered over.* 51. *Lets the paper fall*] 48. *Duke Humphrey lets it fall* Q; omitted Ff. 52. *Uncle . . . lord*] 50, 51. *How now vnkle, whats the matter that you stay so sodenly. Humph. Pardon, my lord.* 53. *some . . . heart*] 50. *a sodain qualme came over my heart.* 54. *And dimmed . . . further*] 51. *which dimmes . . . more.* 55. *King. Uncle . . . read on*] 52. *Vncle . . . you reade on.* 57. *Maine*] 54. *of Mayne.* 60. *without having any dowry*] 56. *without dowry.* 61-68. *They please . . .*] prose in Q 1. 62. *the*] 58. omitted Q.

48. *ere the thirtieth of May*] See extract at beginning of scene. For the remainder of this "article," and the following "item" relative to Anjou and Maine, see Part I. v. iii. 154 and notes.

53. *sudden qualm*] "Qualm" is in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 279 (see note, Arden edition) and in *Much Ado About Nothing*. "Sudden qualm" is in Greene's *James the Fourth* (xiii. 297):—

"Woes me, for him I moane:
Helpe now helpe a *suddaine qualme*
Assayles my heart"

(*circa* 1590-1591). Kyd used this in *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i. 49-50; and (probably) in *Arden of Feversham*, v. i. 308.

57. *released*] surrendered, given up. An old use.

59. *own proper cost and charges*] An old expression generally used in connection with large expenses involved in state affairs. Not dealt with in *New Eng. Dict.* although this passage is cited under "Charge." "Upon their *own proper costs and charges*" is a translation of *suis & eorum propriis sumptibus & expensis* in Letters Patents granted to the Cabots by Henry VII., 1495 (Hakluyt edition, 1810-1812, pp. 25-26, vol. iii.), 1600. Compare Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (Dyce, 452, a): "I 'll bestow one peal of Jack at mine *own proper costs and charges*." And in Nashe, *Unfortunate Traveller* (Grosart, v. 70), 1594. See below, l. 132.

62. *create thee the first Duke of Suffolk*] This occurred the year afterwards (1445, The XXIIIJ Yere): "This Marques thus gotten up into fortunes trone, not content with his degree, by the meanes of the Queene was shortly erected to the estate and degree of a Duke, & ruled the King at his pleasure" (Grafton, p. 627). He had been raised from Earl to Marquis before sailing to France for the conveyance of the Queen. In the same year (1445), Grafton says (p. 626): "It was openly

And girt thee with the sword. Cousin of York,
We here discharge your grace from being regent
I' the parts of France, till term of eighteen months
Be full expired. Thanks, uncle Winchester,
Gloucester, York, Buckingham, Somerset,
Salisbury, and Warwick;
We thank you all for this great favour done,
In entertainment to my princely queen.
Come, let us in, and with all speed provide
To see her coronation be performed.

[*Exeunt King, Queen, and Suffolk.*

Glou. Brave peers of England, pillars of the state,
To you Duke Humphrey must unload his grief,
Your grief, the common grief of all the land.
What! did my brother Henry spend his youth,
His valour, coin, and people, in the wars?
Did he so often lodge in open field,
In winter's cold, and summer's parching heat,

63. *girt*] Q, Ff; *gird*, Cambridge. 65. *I' the*] Ff; *in the* Q. 67. *Buckingham*] 62. *and Buckingham.* 72. *Exeunt . . .*] 65. *Exet . . . and Duke Humphrey staies all the rest. Exit . . . Manet the rest.* F 1. 73. *Glou.*] 67. *Humphrey* (and throughout). 74. *unload*] 68. *unfold.* 75. *Your . . . land*] omitted Q. 76. *spend his youth*] 69. *toyle himselfe.* 77-80. *His valour . . . inheritance*] 70. *And waste his subjects for to conquere France?*

knowen, that the French king was redie in all thinges to make open warre, if no peace . . . were agreed. For which consideracion, money was graunted, men were appoynted, and a great armie gathered together, and the Duke of Sommerset was appoynted Regent of Normandie, and *the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged*" (Hall, p. 206). See line 64.

63. *girt*] See Part I. III. i. 171 and note.

"My colours I advance,
And *girt* me with my sword, and shake my lance"

(Peele, *Descensus Astrææ* (Dyce, 542, b), 1591). And see pp. 549, a, and 557, b, for other examples. Compare "rents," Part III. III. ii. 175. In Greene and Spenser.

65, 66. *term . . . full expired*] Compare Peele, *Sir Clyomon* (506, b): "Now are the ten days *full expir'd* wherein," etc.

73. *pillars of the state*] Similarly in *Locrine*, v. i.:—

"Now who is left to helpless Albion,
That as a *pillar* might uphold our *state*,
That might strike terror to our daring foes?"

78. *lodge in . . . field*] Compare *Love's Labour 's Lost*, II. i. 85: "He rather means to *lodge you in the field*." "Lodge" in the sense of "lie" is a favourite verb with Shakespeare. A common Biblical sense. It occurs commonly in the Chroniclers, as in Grafton's military operations of *Edward the III.*: "*lodged* on the sandes" (363); "*lodged in the fieldes*" (370).

78. *open field*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Compare Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (452, b): "Away with him into the *open fields*." See quotation from *Locrine* at "burgonet," v. i. 204.

79. *In winter's cold . . . parching heat*] Compare *Lucrece*, 1145: "That knows not *parching heat* nor *freezing cold*"; "Sun's *parching heat*" occurs in Part I. I. ii. 77. Compare this speech and the succeeding ones by York and Warwick with those by York and Warwick to the same purpose in the last scene but one of Part I. They are less developed here in the Quarto. This may imply that the Quarto is by the

To conquer France, his true inheritance?
And did my brother Bedford toil his wits,
To keep by policy what Henry got?
Have you yourselves, Somerset, Buckingham,
Brave York, Salisbury, and victorious Warwick,
Received deep scars in France and Normandy?
Or hath mine uncle Beaufort and myself,
With all the learned council of the realm,
Studied so long, sat in the council-house
Early and late, debating to and fro
How France and Frenchmen might be kept in awe?
And hath his highness in his infancy
Crowned in Paris, in despite of foes?
And shall these labours and these honours die?
Shall Henry's conquest, Bedford's vigilance,
Your deeds of war and all our counsel die?
O peers of England! shameful is this league,
Fatal this marriage, cancelling your fame,
Blotting your names from books of memory,
Razing the characters of your renown,

81. *And . . . toil his wits*] 71. *And . . . spend his time.* 82. *To . . . got?*] 72. *To keepe in awe that stout vnruly Realme?* 83-85. *Have you . . Normandy*] omitted Q. 86-95. *Or hath mine uncle Beaufort . . . all our counsel die?*] 73-75. *And have not I and mine vncle Bewford here, Done all we could to keepe that lande in peace? And is all our labours then spent in vaine.* 96-101. *O peers . . . had never been*] 79-81. *Ah lords, fatall is this marriage cancelling our states, Reversing Monuments . . . as none had nere bene done*

same hand as Part I., in this position, and that he did not feel called on to labour those peers' grumbling a second time. "Summer's parching heat" is an expression of Peele's. See *An Eclogue Gratulatory* (Dyce, 562, b), 1589:—

"From sea, from shore, where he with swink and sweat,
Felt foeman's rage and summer's *parching heat*,
Safe is he come."

And for the whole passage, compare Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (468, b):—

"Joab and his brother in the fields,
Suffering the wrath of winter and the sun."

Note omission of "for to" from Q. See *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. ii. (55, a) for parallel. It is found later (1592) in *Arden of Feversham*, Act ii., attributed to Kyd by Fleay.

81. *toil his wits*] Kyd has "This toyles my body, this consumeth age" (*Spanish Tragedy*, III. vi. 8).

88. *council-house*] Occurs again, *Richard III.* III. v. 38. Not in Q.

89. *to and fro*] See Part I. II. i. 69; and below, IV. viii. 57; and *King Lear*, III. i. 11. Not in Q in either passage in this play. In Kyd, *Spanish Tragedie;* Golding's *Ovid;* Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, etc.

97. *cancelling . . . fame*] Often so used in Shakespeare: "*cancel* all grudge" (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, v. iv. 143); "*cancell'd* love" (*Romeo and Juliet*, III. iii. 98); "*cancelled* woe" (Sonnet 30).

98. *Blotting . . . books*] Compare *Lucrece*, 948: "To *blot* old *books* and alter their contents."

98. *books of memory*] This expression is in Part I. II. iv. 101. Not in Q. Peele uses it similarly, but later. Compare Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. i.:—

"all the world should blot his dignities
Out of the *book* of base-born infamies."

99. *Razing . . . renown*] Compare

Defacing monuments of conquered France,
Undoing all, as all had never been.
Car. Nephew, what means this passionate discourse,
This peroration with such circumstance?
For France, 'tis ours; and we will keep it still.
Glou. Ay, uncle; we will keep it, if we can;
But now it is impossible we should.
Suffolk, the new-made duke that rules the roast,
Hath given the duchy of Anjou and Maine
Unto the poor King Reignier, whose large style
Agrees not with the leanness of his purse.
Sal. Now, by the death of Him that died for all,
These counties were the keys of Normandy.
But wherefore weeps Warwick, my valiant son?

102. *Nephew . . . discourse*] 82. *Why how now cosin Gloster, what needs this?* 103, 104. *This peroration . . . keep it still*] omitted Q. 105, 106. *Ay, uncle . . . we should*] omitted Q. 107-110. *Suffolk . . . purse*] (transfer to Gloucester's last speech) 76-78. *For Suffolke he, the new made . . . roast, Hath given away for our King Henries Queene, The Dutches of Anioy and Mayne unto her father.* 111, 112. *Sal. Now by . . . keys of Normandy*] omitted Q. 113. *But . . . valiant son?*] (transferred to Salisbury's next speech, last line, 130 *But . . . noble sonne.*

Sonnet 25: "Is from the book of honour *razed* quite." Not in Q.

103. *peroration*] Not again in Shakespeare. The earliest example in *New Eng. Dict.* in the untechnical sense. Not in Q.

107. *new-made duke*] See note, l. 62.

107. *rules the roast*] domineers, takes the lead—as if presiding over the head of the table. Not again in Shakespeare. An attempt to translate this phrase into "rule the roost" is against the history of the expression and entirely false. A few early references may be given, but it is needless to quote so common a phrase which is in all the collections. It occurs in *Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* (Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, i. 85), *circa* 1500 in Skelton, *Colin Clout* (1518), and his *Why Come Ye not to Courte* (1522); in Heywood, *The Four PP.* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, i. 361), *circa* 1540; in Udall's *Erasmus* (Robert's reprint, p. 294), 1542; in North's *Plutarch, Solon* (Tudor Trans. i. 223), 1579; in Lyly's *Euphues* (Arber, p. 134), 1580; in Watson's *Poems* (Arber, p. 82), *ante* 1590, and abundantly later. It is possible some writers capriciously gave it the roosting sense. Here, however, we are concerned with Greene's interpretation, which is undoubted. Compare *Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 285), 1583: "as the common prouerbe saith, to *rule the rost* after her owne diet." Greene repeats these words in *The Carde of Fancie* (Grosart, iv. 133), 1587. The expression is appropriate here, since it occurs in Hall and Grafton, of Queen Margaret: "Which then *ruled the rost* and bare the whole rule" (The XXXIIJ Yere).

109. *large style*] grandiose title. The closing words of this speech are undoubtedly Shakespeare's. Grafton has: "For King Reyner, her father, for all his *long style*, had to short a purse, to send his daughter honorably to the king her spouse" (p. 625).

111. *by . . . Him . . . all*] Compare Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*: "I sweare to both *by him that made us all*" (II. i. 89) (Boas). And Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 406): "*By him that died for me* I will not dine Till I," etc. See Part III. II. ii. 124.

112. *keys of Normandy*] See note at line 214 below. The expression occurs in a different connection in Grafton (and Hall). The XXVJ Yere: "Pountlarche taken and surprised, which towne was the *key* and passage over the Riuer of Some, from Fraunce to Normandie" (p. 633).

War. For grief that they are past recovery:
For, were there hope to conquer them again,
My sword should shed hot blood, mine eyes no tears.
Anjou and Maine! myself did win them both;
Those provinces these arms of mine did conquer:
And are the cities, that I got with wounds,
Delivered up again with peaceful words?
Mort Dieu!

York. For Suffolk's duke, may he be suffocate,
That dims the honour of this warlike isle!
France should have torn and rent my very heart
Before I would have yielded to this league.
I never read but England's kings have had
Large sums of gold and dowries with their wives;
And our King Henry gives away his own,
To match with her that brings no vantages.

Glou. A proper jest, and never heard before,
That Suffolk should demand a whole fifteenth

114-121. *War. For grief . . . Mort Dieu!*] 131-134. *War. For griefe that all is lost that Warwick won. Sonnes, Anjoy, and Maine, both giuen away at once, Why, Warwick did win them & must that then which we wonne with our swords be giuen away with wordes.* 122-125. *For Suffolk's duke . . . this league*] omitted Q. 126-128. *I never read . . . his own*] 135-137. *As I have read, our Kinges of England were woont to have large dowries with their wives, but our . . . his owne.* 129. *To match . . . vantages*] omitted Q. 130-135. *Glou. A proper jest . . . grow too hot*] omitted Q.

118. *these arms of mine*] Occurs again Part III. II. v. 114: "*These arms of mine* shall be thy winding sheet." The construction is frequent in Shakespeare. See note at the latter line for reference to Marlowe. "Of thine" occurs several times, but only, I think, in the earliest work. See Part I. II. iii. 39: "I will chain these legs and *arms of thine*." And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. IV. iii. (65, a): "This unconquered *arm of mine*," and elsewhere.

119, 120. *got with wounds, Delivered . . . with words*] "Won with swords" and "given with words," in Q, is neater; and it is not forgotten. See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. i. 44, and note in Arden edition, p. 113. And in *2 Henry IV.* IV. ii. 10. It is in Gosson, *School of Abuse* (Arber, p. 52), 1579: "Let . . . the word and the sword be knit togither."

121. *Mort Dieu!*] This expletive is not again in Shakespeare. It is used by Marlowe, *Massacre at Paris* (237, a):—

"*Mort Dieu!* were not the fruit
within thy womb . . .
This wrathful hand should strike
thee to the heart."

122. *Suffolk . . . suffocate*] This is paralleled by the Maine quibble below, I. 207. And see *protector* in Part I. (I. iii. 8, 9); and the nominal puns at I. iv. 107 (Part I.). See too Pool and Pole at IV. i. 70.

129. *match with*] Compare Part I. v. v. 66. Match (verb), meaning "marry," is frequent in Shakespeare. Not in Q.

129. *vantages*] advantages. Common in Shakespeare. Not in Q.

130. *A proper jest*] Compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, I. iii. 54: "A *proper* squire!"; and IV. i. 312: "A *proper* saying!" And *Henry VIII.* I. i. 98: "A *proper* title!"

131. *fifteenth*] a tax of one-fifteenth levied on personal property. The term occurs often in the Chronicles. See note at Part I. v. v. 93. Grafton has (XIX Yere of *Edward the Thirde*): "And in the sayde Parliament was graunted unto the king toward the finishyng and ending of his warres with Fraunce, of the commons and of the Townes and Cities of the Realme of Eng-

For costs and charges in transporting her!
She should have stayed in France, and starved in France,
Before—

Car. My Lord of Gloucester, now ye grow too hot:
It was the pleasure of my lord the king.

Glou. My lord of Winchester, I know your mind:
'Tis not my speeches that you do mislike,
But 'tis my presence that doth trouble ye.
Rancour will out: proud prelate, in thy face
I see thy fury. If I longer stay
We shall begin our ancient bickerings.
Lordings, farewell; and say, when I am gone,
I prophesied France will be lost ere long. [*Exit.*

Car. So, there goes our protector in a rage.
'Tis known to you he is mine enemy,
Nay, more, an enemy unto you all,
And no great friend, I fear me, to the king.

135, 136. *Car. My Lord . . . the king*] 82-87. *Card. Why how now cosin Gloster, what needs this? As if our king were bound unto your will, And might not do his will without your leave, Proud Protector envy in thine eyes I see, The big swolne venome of thy hatefull heart, That dares presume gainst that thy Soueraigne likes.* 137-144. *Glou. My lord . . . ere long*] 88-92. *Humphr. Nay my Lord tis not my words that troubles you, But my presence, proud Prelate as thou art: But ile begone and giue thee leave to speake. Farewell my Lords, and say when . . . would . . . ere long.* 145, 146. *So, there goes . . . mine enemy*] 93, 94. *There goes . . . My Lords you know he is my great enemy.* 147-155. *Nay, more . . . be wise and circumspect*] omitted Q.

lande, foure fiftenes to be paide in two yeres next folowing. And likewise ye Clergy graunted unto him three fiftenes to be paid in three yeres" (p. 358). In Arnold's Chronicle (1500), in "A Prouision to brynge Henry the VI. oute of the debt," the term is a *quynzyme*.

132. *costs and charges*] See note above, line 59. Frequent in Hall and Grafton. See the latter at p. 233 (*King Iohn*, The VIIJ Yere): "Of his awne *costes and charges* he sent his messengers vnto Rome"; and p. 379: "he hath suffered me to abide here so long, the which hath beene greatly to my *costes and charges*." It occurs in Grafton's earlier *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 458 (1543).

135, 136. *big-swolne*] In the Cardinal's speech here Q has "big-swolne venom." See note at Part III. II. ii. 111 where this line occurs (almost) in *True Tragedie* and in the final text. One of the many proofs of continuity of authorship in these plays. "Big swolne phrases" occurs in *Jeronymo*, I. i. 56 (1605).

140. *proud prelate*] A favourite formation of Greene's, especially when alliteration lent its artful aid. In *The Contention* "Proud Protector" occurs four lines higher up than "proud prelate," and a little lower down is "proud Lancaster." Shakespeare omits the first of these. See note at "lordly," line 11.

142. *bickerings*] wranglings, contention. In this secondary sense Gabriel Harvey uses the word earlier (1573).

143. *Lordings*] An early form of address equivalent to "Sirs!" "Gentlemen!" amply illustrated in *New Eng. Dict.* back to 1200. The contemptuous sense of "little lord" (See Puttenham, 1589, Arber, p. 229) is not present here. Shakespeare uses the word again in *Winter's Tale*. Not in Q. Peele is very fond of it: "*Lordings* adieu" (Prol. to *Arraignment*); "*Lordings* behold" (*Descensus Astrææ*); and elsewhere. And *Locrine*, I. i.: "And in you, *lordings*, doth the substance lie." See *3 Henry VI*. I. i. 50 (note).

Consider, lords, he is the next of blood,
And heir apparent to the English crown:
Had Henry got an empire by his marriage,
And all the wealthy kingdoms of the west,
There 's reason he should be displeased at it.
Look to it, lords; let not his smoothing words
Bewitch your hearts; be wise and circumspect.
What though the common people favour him,
Calling him "Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester,"
Clapping their hands, and crying with loud voice
"Jesu maintain your royal excellence!"
With "God preserve the good Duke Humphrey!"
I fear me, lords, for all this flattering gloss,
He will be found a dangerous protector.

Buck. Why should he then protect our sovereign,
He being of age to govern of himself?

156-160. *What though the common people . . . good Duke Humphrey*] 97-100. *For well you see, if he but walke the streets, The common people swarme about him straight, Crying, Iesus blesse your royall exellence, With . . . Humphrey.* 161, 162. *I fear me . . . protector*] 95-96 and 101, 102. *And though he be Protector of the land, And thereby covers his deceitfull thoughts, . . . And many things besides that are not knowne, Which time will bring to light in smooth Duke Humphrey.* 163, 164. *Why should . . . of himself*] omitted Q. 165-167. *Cousin of . . . his seat*] 106-108. *Cosen of Somerset be rulde by me, Weele watch Duke Humphrey and the Cardinall too, And put them from the marke they faine would hit.* 163-166. *Buck . . . join . . . Suffolk*] 109. *Somerset. thanks cosin Buckingham, joyne thou with me, And both of us . . . Suffolke.*

154. *Look to it*] be on your guard. Characteristic of Shakespeare.

154. *smoothing words*] Occurs again in *Richard III.* I. ii. 169. Not in Q.

155. *circumspect*] Shakespeare uses this word again only in *Richard III.* IV. ii. 31. Not in Q. It is in (Peele's) *Jack Straw*:—

"A little spark hath kindled all this fire
Which must be quench'd with *circumspect* regard"

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 389). And *Selimus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 222): "be close and circumspect." It is not a Greene word.

156, 157. *the common people . . . good Duke of Gloucester*] Grafton has: "And thus much for the noble prowesse and vertue, ioyned with lyke Ornamentes of knowledge and learning shyning in this Duke: For the which as before hath appered, he was both loued of the commons and well spoken of of all men, and no lesse deserving the same, being called the *good Duke of Gloucester*: so neyther yet wanted he backbiters and privie envyers" (p. 630). This passage is neither in Hall nor Holinshed. Again, at p. 633: "that William de la Poole, late created Duke of Suffolke, and diuers other, were the occasion of the death of the sayd Duke of Gloucester, which was the very father of the countrie, and the shielde and defence of the poore Commonaltie." See note at III. i. 20: "Humphrey is no little man."

157. *calling him "Humphrey"*] See note below at III. i. 20.

161. *gloss*] A favourite term in Shakespeare, both literally and in transferred use. Not in Q.

162, 163. *protector . . . protect our*] See note at *suffocate*, above, l. 122. Two lines in Q (101, 102) omitted here, appear below (with a little difference in the first) at III. i. 64, 65, given to Buckingham.

163, 164. *Why should he then . . . being of age*] Grafton says this of Queen Margaret (pp. 628, 629): "This woman perceyving that her husbande . . . did

Cousin of Somerset, join you with me,
And all together, with the Duke of Suffolk,
We'll quickly hoise Duke Humphrey from his seat.
Car. This weighty business will not brook delay;
I'll to the Duke of Suffolk presently. [*Exit.*
Som. Cousin of Buckingham, though Humphrey's pride
And greatness of his place be grief to us,
Yet let us watch the haughty cardinal:
His insolence is more intolerable
Than all the princes' in the land beside:
If Gloucester be displaced, he'll be protector.
Buck. Or thou or I, Somerset, will be protector,
Despite Duke Humphrey or the cardinal.
[*Exeunt Buckingham and Somerset.*
Sal. Pride went before, ambition follows him.
While these do labour for their own preferment,
Behoves it us to labour for the realm.

167. *Buck. . . . We'll . . . seat*] 112. *Somerset. . . . Weele quickly heave Duke Humphrey from his seate.* 168, 169. *Car. This weighty . . . presently*] 103-104. (end of speech beginning 93) *But I will after him, and if I can Ile laie a plot to heave him from his seate. Exet. Cardinall.* 170-171. omitted Q. 172. *Somerset. . . . Yet let us watch this haughtie Cardinall*] 105. *Buck. But let us watch this haughtie Cardinall.* 173-175. *His insolence . . . protector*] omitted Q. 176, 177. *Buck. Or thou or I . . . Cardinal*] 112, 113. *Buck. Content, Come then let us about it straight, For either thou or I will be Protector. Exet. Buckingham and Somerset.* 178-180. *Pride . . . for the realm*] 114-116. *Pride . . . follows after. Whilst these do seeke their owne preferments thus, My Lords, let us seeke for our Countries good.*

all thing by the aduise and counsayle of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester . . . determined . . . to take uppon her the rule and regiment . . . least men should say and report that she had neyther wyt nor stomack, which would permit and suffer her husband, being of perfite age . . . to be governed by the disposition of an other man." See below, iii. 45, 46.

167. *hoise . . . from his seat*] The process of rewriting is interesting here. The expression "hoise from his seat" is not again in Shakespeare. In the *Contention* it is "heave from his seat," which is repeated immediately afterwards. This would necessitate its elimination; but at v. i. 36 below, "heave proud Somerset from out the court" in the *Contention* is altered to "remove proud Somerset from the king," while at v. i. 61 "To heave the Duke of Somerset from hence" is hardly changed. In this speech the Quarto (*Contention*) has "the mark they fain would hit." This occurs below (in both) at l. 241. Hence its omission here. Compare Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (xiii. 185): "To vaile thy plumes and heave thee from thy pompe." The latter expression is also in Peele. See note at v. i. 61. And below, l. 241.

172. *haughty cardinal*] See note at Part I. I. iii. 23, 85. "Let us watch" in this line is repeated in the Quarto, next line but one.

175. *displaced*] See quotation at "defaced," below, IV. i. 42.

178. *Pride went before, ambition follows him*] A modification of an ancient proverb (in Ray, ed. 1742, p. 148): "*Pride goes before*, and shame follows after." See Skelton, *Poems against Garnasche* (Dyce, i. 131), *circa* 1500; Barclay, *Ship of Fooles* (Reprint, ii. 164), 1509; Heywood's *Proverbs* (ed. Sharman, p. 46), 1546; Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (Grosart, ii. 14), 1592; Jonson, Chapman and Marston, *Eastward Ho!* iv. 1 (1605); Taylor's *Works*, ii. 133 (1630). And in Camden's *Remaines* Halliwell gives a reference to Wyntoun's *Chronicle* (*circa* 1400).

180. *Behoves it us*] Compare *Spanish*

I never saw but Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester,
Did bear him like a noble gentleman.
Oft have I seen the haughty cardinal
More like a soldier than a man o' the church,
As stout and proud as he were lord of all,
Swear like a ruffian and demean himself
Unlike the ruler of a commonweal.
Warwick, my son, the comfort of my age,
Thy deeds, thy plainness, and thy house-keeping,
Hath won the greatest favour of the commons,
Excepting none but good Duke Humphrey:
And, brother York, thy acts in Ireland,
In bringing them to civil discipline,

181, 182. *I never . . . noble gentleman*] omitted Q. 183-187. *Oft have I seen . . . a commonweal*] 117-119. *Oft . . . this haughtie Cardinall sweare, and forsweare himselfe, and brave it out, More like a Ruffin then a man of Church.* 188-190. *Warwick, my son . . . favour of the commons*] 123-125. *And thou, brave Warwicke, my thrice valiant sonne, Thy simple plainnesse and thy house-keeping, Hath wonne thee credit amongst the common sort.* 191. *Excepting . . . Humphrey*] omitted Q. 192-196. *And, brother Yorke . . . the people*] 120, 121. *Cosin Yorke, the victories thou hast wonne, In Ireland, Normandie, and in France, Hath wonne thee immortal praise in England.*

Tragedy, IV. iii. 27: "*Behooues* thee then, Hieronimo, to be reueng'd."

186. *demean himself*] behave himself. See *Comedy of Errors*, IV. iii. 83 and V. i. 88. And below, I. iii. 106; and Part III. I. iv. 7. In Q at I. iii. 106.

187. *commonweal*] In his later plays, excepting once in *Measure for Measure*, II. i. 42, Shakespeare has "commonwealth." "Commonweal" occurs four times in this play, four times in *Titus Andronicus*, and once in Part I. Not in Q.

188. *Warwick, my son*] "Thrice-valiant son" of the *Contention*. The adjective occurs in *Titus Andronicus* and in *Henry V*. It occurs in Peele's *Edward I.* (*circa* 1589): "Simon de Montfort, her thrice-valiant son." See Introduction to Part I.

188-190. *Warwick . . . thy house-keeping . . . favour of the commons*] Grafton says: "Erle of Warwike . . . This Richard was not only a man of excellent qualities, but also from his youth . . . set himselfe forward with wittie and gentle demeanour, to all persons of high and of lowe degree, that among all sortes of people he obteyned great love . . . by his abundant liberalitie and plentifull *house keeping* . . . by reason of which doings, he was in suche favour and estimation among the common people, that they iudged him able to doe all things" (p. 652, The XXXIJ Yere). This is a much more satisfactory source than that quoted by Boswell Stone from Holinshed. See below, I. iii. 72.

189. *house-keeping*] hospitality. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 104 (and note, Arden edition).

191. *good Duke Humphrey*] See note at line 156.

192, 193. *York . . . in Ireland . . . civil discipline*] In the twenty-seventh year (p. 634) Grafton writes: "A new rebellyon began in Ireland, to the great displeasure of the King and his counsaill; for repressing whereof, Richard Duke of Yorke, with a convenient number of men, was sent thether as lieutenant to the king, which not onely appeased the fury of the wilde & savage people there, but also gat him such loue and favor of the countrey and the inhabitaunts that their sincere loue and friendly affection coulde never be separated from him and his lignage, as in the sequele of this storie you shall more plainely perceive." See below, III. i. 309, 310.

193. *to civil discipline*] Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 398):—

"If clemency may win their raging minds
To civil order I'll approve it first."

Thy late exploits done in the heart of France,
When thou wert regent for our sovereign,
Have made thee feared and honoured of the people.
Join we together for the public good,
In what we can to bridle and suppress
The pride of Suffolk and the cardinal,
With Somerset's and Buckingham's ambition;
And, as we may, cherish Duke Humphrey's deeds,
While they do tend the profit of the land.

War. So God help Warwick, as he loves the land,
And common profit of his country!

York. [*Aside.*] And so says York, for he hath greatest cause.

Sal. Then let 's make haste away, and look unto the main.

War. Unto the main! O father, Maine, is lost!
That Maine which by main force Warwick did win,
And would have kept so long as breath did last:
Main chance, father, you meant; but I meant Maine,
Which I will win from France, or else be slain.

[*Exeunt Warwick and Salisbury.*

York. Anjou and Maine are given to the French;
Paris is lost; the state of Normandy
Stands on a tickle point now they are gone.

197-202. *Join we together . . . profit of the land*] 126-129. *The reverence of mine age, and Nevels name, Is of no little force if I command, Then let us ioyne all three in one for this, That good Duke Humphrey may his state possesse.* 198-200. *In what . . . ambition*] omitted Q. 203-205. Omitted Q. 206-211. *Then let's . . . the main . . . be slain*] 138-142. *Come sonnes away and looke . . . War. Which Warwicke by main force did win from France . . . or else be slaine. Exet Salsbury and Warwicke.* 212-233. *Anjou . . . of Calydon*] omitted Q.

194. *exploits*] military undertakings. A favourite word in Shakespeare, familiar from the Chroniclers' usage. "Employed upon the *exployte* and expedition of the full fynishing and ending of the warres with Fraunce" (Grafton, *Edward the Thirde*, The XVIIJ Yere, p. 358). And in the XX Yere (p. 366): "For Goddes sake asswage somewhat your courage . . . ye have a great *exployt* to do before ye come to Calice."

197. *Join we*] See note at "embrace we," Part I. II. i. 13. An old construction very much affected by Shakespeare. Not in Q.

198, 199. *bridle . . . the pride*] See below, IV. vii. 112 ("bridle remorse"); and Part III. IV. iv. 19 ("bridle passion"). Restrain. An ancient usage, not common in Shakespeare, but frequent in Greene, in *Alphonsus*, and elsewhere.

206. *look unto the main*] A gambling term. It occurs in Lyly's *Euphues*, 1580: "Always have an eye to the *mayne*, whatsoeuer thou art chaunced at the buy" (Arber, p. 430). See Grosart's Greene, vol. x. Name quibbling is plentiful in these plays, and always in Shakespeare.

213, 214. *the state of Normandy . . . now they are gone*] See above, line 112: "These counties were the keys of Normandy." Grafton says (p. 625): "For her mariage, the Duchie of Aniow, the Citie of Mauns, and the whole Countie of Mayne were delivered and released to King Reyner her father, which Countries were the very stayes and backestandes to the Duchie of Normandie."

214. *tickle*] Greene has the word earlier in *Mamillia* and in *The Carde of Fancie*. Compare *Hamlet*, II. ii. 337.

Suffolk concluded on the articles,
The peers agreed, and Henry was well pleased
To change two dukedoms for a duke's fair daughter.
I cannot blame them all: what is 't to them?
'Tis thine they give away, and not their own.
Pirates may make cheap pennyworths of their pillage,
And purchase friends, and give to courtezans,
Still revelling like lords till all be gone;
While as the silly owner of the goods
Weeps over them, and wrings his hapless hands,
And shakes his head, and trembling stands aloof,
While all is shared and all is borne away,
Ready to starve and dare not touch his own:
So York must sit and fret and bite his tongue
While his own lands are bargained for and sold.
Methinks the realms of England, France, and Ireland
Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood
As did the fatal brand Althæa burned
Unto the prince's heart of Calydon.
Anjou and Maine both given unto the French!

234-257. *Anjou and Maine . . . fair England down*] 143-166. *Yorke, Anioy and Maine . . . faire England downe.* Q reads: 236. *England's soil*] 145. *England.*

See, too, Lodge, *The Wounds of Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 128):—

"The greatest towns and lords of Asia
Have stood on *tickle* terms through simple truth"

(*ante* 1594). But the expression here, "stands on a tickle point," is in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, III. iv. 78. See note at "now or never," *3 Henry VI.* IV. iii. 24. See Introduction.

220. *pennyworths*] value. "Make cheap pennyworths" means make easy bargains. To equate the word with "trifles," as Schmidt does throughout, is quite wrong. See *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 650; *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 77. And Greene, *Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 92): "I should stand to my *pennyworth*, having made my market like a foole."

222. *revelling like lords*] Compare "lording it," IV. viii. 47 below. "To swear *like a lord*" occurs in Elyot, *The Governour* (1884 edition, p. 87), 1531.

223. *While as*] while; "as" is superfluous, as it often is with expressions of time, such as now, then (or tho'), yet, etc. In Golding's *Ovid* it constantly occurs superfluously, though it stands the first word of the connection. Compare "whereas" and "whenas"; also "whileere" (*Tempest*, III. ii. 127) for "ere while."

224. *hapless*] unlucky. Only in Shakespeare's earliest works: in these three Parts, *Lucrece*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Comedy of Errors*. Often in Greene's plays: "*haplesse* hour" (xiv. 197); "*haplesse* breath" (xiv. 241); "*haples* hap" (xiii. 398).

228. *bite his tongue*] keep silence. See *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 47.

232, 233. *Althæa . . . Calydon*]

"Althæa . . .
There was a certaine firebrand which when Oenies wife did lie
In childebed of Meleäger, she chaunced to espie
The Destinies putting in the fire: and in the putting in,
She hearde them speake these words as they his fatall threede did spin:
O lately borne, like time we give to thee and to this brand.
And when they so had spoken, they departed out of hand,
Immediatly the mother caught the blazing bough away,
And quenched it . . .
And now . . . she like a foe did kindle fire thereto"

(Golding's *Ovid*, viii. 594-605). See *2 Henry IV.* II. ii. 93-96.

Cold news for me, for I had hope of France,
Even as I have of fertile England's soil.
A day will come when York shall claim his own;
And therefore I will take the Nevils' parts
And make a show of love to proud Duke Humphrey,
And, when I spy advantage, claim the crown,
For that's the golden mark I seek to hit.
Nor shall proud Lancaster usurp my right,
Nor hold the sceptre in his childish fist,
Nor wear the diadem upon his head,
Whose church-like humours fits not for a crown.
Then, York, be still awhile, till time do serve:
Watch thou and wake when others be asleep,
To pry into the secrets of the state;
Till Henry, surfeiting in joys of love,
With his new bride and England's dear-bought queen,
And Humphrey with the peers be fallen at jars:
Then will I raise aloft the milk-white rose,
With whose sweet smell the air shall be perfumed,
And in my standard bear the arms of York,
To grapple with the house of Lancaster;

245. *fits*] 154. *fit.* 255. *grapple*] 164. *graffle.*

235. *Cold news*] See again, III. i. 86, 87 below. Unwelcome, disagreeable, bad news. Often used by Shakespeare in this sense. "*Cold* comfort" occurs in *King John*, and in *The Taming of a Shrew*; "*colder* tidings" is in *Richard III.*; "*cold* words" is in *Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 334); in Day, and in Heywood. "*Cold* comfort" is several times in Nashe. In Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, III. i. 155, "*Colde* and comfortles news" occurs.

236. *fertile ... soil*] Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw*: "loyal hearts . . . Shall grow like grains sown in a *fertile soil*" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 413).

240. *spy advantage*] A favourite use. Elsewhere Shakespeare has "*spy* entertainment"; "*spy* comfort"; "*spy* marks of love"; "*spy* a kind of hope"; "*spy* some pity," etc. etc. *Cf. Spanish Tragedy*: "I *spy* your knavery" (III. vi. 47) (Boas).

241. *golden mark I seek to hit*] See note at line 167 above. The "golden mark" is here the crown, not the centre of the target, which was white. Otherwise this might do duty for "hit the gold." Peele has "If honour be the *marke* whereat thou aimst" in *Alcazar*, II. iv. (430, b).

244. *wear the diadem*] So Peele, *Edward I.* (396, a): "And *wears the* royal Scottish *diadem*."

245. *Whose church-like humours*] See note at line 156 above. And at iii. 53, 54.

249. *Till*] while.

249. *surfeiting*] cloyed, oversatiated, sick from excess. A thoroughly Shakespearian sense. See *Measure for Measure*, v. i. 102, etc. etc.

251. *fallen at jars*] Compare IV. viii. 43. Earlier examples are given in *New Eng. Dict.* of "living at jar," etc., but it does not occur in Shakespeare.

252. *milk-white rose*] See note below at II. iii. 78.

255. *grapple with*] contend with. Compare *King John*, v. i. 61. Equivalent to "buckle with," used in these plays. See note at I. ii. 90 below.

256. *force perforce*] by force. See again *King John*, III. i. 142, and *2 Henry IV.* IV. i. 116. "Perforce" is very frequently used by Shakespeare. In *3 Henry VI.* II. iii. 5, "spite of spite" reads "force perforce" in *The True Tragedie* (Quarto). The expression is

And, force perforce, I 'll make him yield the crown,
Whose bookish rule hath pulled fair England down.
[*Exit.*

SCENE II.—*The Duke of* GLOUCESTER'S *house.*

Enter Duke HUMPHREY, *and his wife* ELEANOR.

Duch. Why droops my lord, like over-ripened corn,
Hanging the head at Ceres' plenteous load?
Why doth the great Duke Humphrey knit his brows,
As frowning at the favours of the world?
Why are thine eyes fixed to the sullen earth,
Gazing on that which seems to dim thy sight?
What seest thou there? King Henry's diadem
Enchased with all the honours of the world?
If so, gaze on, and grovel on thy face,
Until thy head be circled with the same.

SCENE II. The . . . house] Theobald. *Enter . . .*] Ff; *Enter Duke Humphrey, and Dame Ellanor Cobham his wife* Q. 1. *Duch.*] 1. *Elnor.* (and throughout). 2. *Ceres'*] 2. *Cearies.* 3-16. *Why doth . . . the ground*] 3-7. *What seest thou Duke Humphrey King Henries Crowne? Reach at it, and if thine arme be too short, Mine shall lengthen it. Art not thou a Prince, Vnckle to the King, and his Protector? Then what shouldst thou lacke that might content thy minde.*

in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. See Introduction.

257. *bookish*] See *Othello*, I. i. 24, and *Winter's Tale*, III. iii. 73. "Bookish" occurs frequently in Greene, as in *Farewell to Follie*, ix. 248: "You are farre more *bookish* than wise"; and in *Selimus* (xiv. 204): "The schoolemen are prepard To plant 'gainst me their *bookish* ordinance."

The last part of this speech, 143-166, is identical with *The Contention;* and it is clear proof that the latter play is not only not wholly due to Greene, but is partly due to Shakespeare. Greene was incapable of this composition. It has the stamp of Shakespeare, and of no one else.

SCENE II.

1. *over-ripened*] No other example of this is known (except Q). Shakespeare uses a large assortment of such terms for the first time.

1. *droops . . . like . . . corn*] A similar simile occurs in *1 Henry VI.* II. v. 12:—

"like to a wither'd vine
That *droops* his sapless branches."

3. *knit his brows*] Only in *2 Henry VI.*, *3 Henry VI.*, and *Lucrece*. See note at *3 Henry VI.* II. ii. 20. In Grafton (1543).

5. *sullen earth*] See Sonnet 29. Not in Q. Gloomy, dark. See *1 Henry IV.* I. ii. 236.

8. *Enchased with*] studded, adorned with. A favourite phrase of Greene's but not again in Shakespeare. Compare *Menaphon* (Grosart, vi. 79): "His face is not *inchacte with* anie rusticke proportion"; and later (p. 123) in a beautiful "Eglogue":—

"Hir christall chin like to the purest molde
Enchac'de with daintie daysies soft and white."

It occurs earlier in Spenser, *Faerie Queene* (II. ix. 24):—

"a wandering vine
Enchaced with a wanton yvie twine."

And in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I. (Dyce, 10, b), 1586: "*Enchas'd with* precious jewels of mine own." Not in Q.

10. *circled with*] Compare *3 Henry VI.* IV. viii. 21; *Titus Andronicus*, III. i. 277, and *Richard III.* IV. iv. 382. Not in Q.

Put forth thy hand, reach at the glorious gold.
What! is 't too short? I 'll lengthen it with mine;
And, having both together heaved it up,
We 'll both together lift our heads to heaven,
And never more abase our sight so low
As to vouchsafe one glance unto the ground.
Glou. O Nell, sweet Nell, if thou dost love thy lord,
Banish the canker of ambitious thoughts:
And may that thought, when I imagine ill
Against my king and nephew, virtuous Henry,
Be my last breathing in this mortal world.
My troublous dream this night doth make me sad.
Duch. What dreamed my lord? tell me, and I 'll requite it
With sweet rehearsal of my morning's dream.
Glou. Methought this staff, mine office-badge in court,
Was broke in twain; by whom I have forgot,
But, as I think, it was by the cardinal;

17-22. *O Nell, sweet Nell . . . make me sad*] 8-11. *My louely Nell, far be it from my heart, To thinke of Treasons gainst my soveraigne Lord, But I was troubled with a dreame to night, And God I pray, it do betide no ill.* 23, 24. *What dream'd . . . morning's dream*] 12-14. *What drempt my Lord. Good Humphrey tell it me, And ile interpret it, and when thats done, Ile tell thee then, what I did dreame to night.* 25-31. *Methought this staff . . . God knows*] 15-19. *This night when I was laid in bed, I dreampt that This my . . . in two, and on the ends were plac'd, The heads of the Cardinall of Winchester, And William de la Poule first Duke of Suffolke.*

13. *heaved it up*] Occurs again (of hands) *Venus and Adonis*, 351, and *Lucrece*, ll. 111, 638; and (of a leg) *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. iv. 40. In Peele's *Edward I.* (Dyce, 410, b), he uses it of another part of the human body:—

"Lluellen, after much ado,
Should in spite *heave up* his chin
And be the highest of his kin?"

See, too, Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, VI. viii. 15: "His dreadfull hand he *heaved up* aloft."

21. *my last breathing*] my last (or latest) gasp, which occurs several times in these plays. See note, Part I. I. ii. 127. Compare the two following quotations in *New Eng. Dict.*: "Forsake me not, I pray thee, in *my last breathing*" (Hieron, *Works*, i. 736, 1608); and "surrendered up his *last breathings* at his house" (Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* i. 260, 1691). Not in Q. Peele has "all the hope of life and *breathing*" in *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 408).

24. *morning's dream*] the true dream. An ancient superstition. So Ben Jonson, *Love Restored*:—

"morning hastes to come in view
And all the *morning dreams* are true."

Pantagruel, it will be recalled, directs Panurge "to try the Future good or bad luck of his Marriage by dreams, . . . when the jolly and fair Aurora draweth aside the Curtains of the Night . . . bend your spirits wholly to the Task of sleeping sound" (iii. 13).

25. *office-badge*] Compare Peele, *Honour of the Garter* (587, a):—

"his *office-badge*
Was a black rod, whereof he took his name."

26. *in twain*] "in two" in Q. Very much used by Shakespeare.

27. *by the cardinal*] See what Somerset says of the Cardinal, line 177 above. The two hang together and are additional to Q. Inserted perhaps to emphasise the Cardinal's hatred of Duke Humphrey, a leading motive of Part I. and II. See Part I. I. iv. and III. i. We have yet another insertion to the same effect in line 94 below; and see note at line 117 (scene iii.).

And on the pieces of the broken wand
Were placed the heads of Edmund Duke of Somerset,
And William de la Pole, first Duke of Suffolk.
This was my dream: what it doth bode, God knows.

Duch. Tut! this was nothing but an argument,
That he that breaks a stick of Gloucester's grove
Shall lose his head for his presumption.
But list to me, my Humphrey, my sweet duke:
Methought I sat in seat of majesty
In the cathedral church of Westminster,
And in that chair where kings and queens are crowned;
Where Henry and Dame Margaret kneeled to me,
And on my head did set the diadem.

Glou. Nay, Eleanor, then must I chide outright:
Presumptuous dame! ill-nurtured Eleanor!
Art thou not second woman in the realm,
And the protector's wife, beloved of him?
Hast thou not worldly pleasure at command,
Above the reach or compass of thy thought?
And wilt thou still be hammering treachery,
To tumble down thy husband and thyself
From top of honour to disgrace's feet?

32-40. *Tut! this was nothing . . . set the diadem*] 20-28. *Tush my Lord, this signifies nought but this That . . . grove, Shall for th' offence, make forfeit of his head. But now my Lord, Ile tell you what I dreampt, Me thought I was in the . . . At . . . and seated in the chaire Where . . . and at my feete Henry and Margaret with a Crowne of golde Stood readie to set it on my Princely head.* 41-50. *Nay, Eleanor . . . no more*] 29-33. *Fie Nell. Ambitious woman as thou art, Art thou . . . in this land, And the . . . of him, And wilt . . . treason thus, Away I say . . . no more.*

40. *my head*] The alteration from "my princely head" is worthy of note. Stukely speaks of "my lordly breast" in *Alcazar*, II. ii. (427, b). And in *Selimus* (Grosart, xiv. 288): "scorn to stoupe or bend my Lordly knee."

42. *Presumptuous dame!*] See note, Part I. III. i. 8.

42. *ill-nurtured*] ill-bred, ill-natured. Occurs again *Venus and Adonis*, 134. Compare Greene, *George-a-Greene* (Grosart, xiv. 175):—

> "Nay, good my Liege, *ill-nurtured* we were, then:
> Though we Yorkeshire men be blunt of speech,
> And little skill'd in court, or such quaint fashions,
> Yet nature teacheth vs duetie to our king."

Compounds in "nurtured" are old, as "all well-nurtered and gentle wedded menne" (Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 600, 1543).

45. *at command*] when you wish it, available. Compare *Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. iii. 12. Earlier in *New Eng. Dict.* Not in Q.

46. *Above the reach*] See *Titus Andronicus*, II. i. 4. Compare Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, I. i.: "whose pride doth swell to sway beyond his reach" (423, a).

46. *compass*] reach. Common in Shakespeare. Not in Q.

47. *hammering*] devising, designing. A favourite expression of Greene's, usually within the head, or brains added. See *Philomela* (xi. 117): "*hammering* thus betwixt feare and hope he built castles in the ayre"; and p. 159: "*hamring* how he might bring both Lutesio and her to confusion." The nearest parallel in Shakespeare is in *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 39.

Away from me, and let me hear no more!
Duch. What, what, my lord! are you so choleric
With Eleanor for telling but her dream?
Next time I 'll keep my dreams unto myself,
And not be checked.
Glou. Nay, be not angry; I am pleased again.

Enter Messenger.

Mess. My lord protector, 'tis his highness' pleasure
You do prepare to ride unto Saint Alban's,
Where as the king and queen do mean to hawk.
Glou. I go. Come, Nell, thou wilt ride with us?
Duch. Yes, my good lord, I 'll follow presently.
[*Exeunt Gloucester and Messenger.*
Follow I must; I cannot go before,
While Gloucester bears this base and humble mind.
Were I a man, a duke, and next of blood,
I would remove these tedious stumbling-blocks
And smooth my way upon their headless necks;

51-54. *What, what . . . be checked*] 34-36. *How now my Lord, What angry with your Nell For . . . dreame. The next I haue Ile keepe to my selfe, and not be rated thus.* 55. *Nay . . . again*] 37, 38. *Nay Nell, Ile give no credit to a dreame, but I would haue thee to thinke on no such things.* 56-58. *My lord . . . mean to hawk*] 39-41 (prose). *And it please your grace, the King and Queene to morrow morning will ride a hawking to Saint Albones, and craves your company along with them.* 59. *I go . . . us*] 42, 43. *With all my heart, I will attend his grace: Come Nell, thou wilt go with us I am sure. Exet. Humphrey.* 60-67. *Yes, my good lord . . . Fortune's pageant*] 44-46. *Ile come after you, for I cannot go before, But ere it be long, Ile go before them all, Despight of all that seeke to crosse me thus.*

Grafton (and Hall) refer to Gloucester's marriage with Eleanor Cobham the end of "The Thirde Yere" (1424-5) (he had been previously illegally united to Lady Iaquet or Iacomyne, wife of the Duke of Brabant): "he, by wanton affection blinded, toke to his wyfe Elianor Cobham daughter to the Lorde Cobham, of Sterborow, which before (as the fame went) was his soueraigne Lady and paramour, to his great slaunder and reproche. And if he were vnquieted wyth his other pretenced wyfe, truely he was ten tymes more vexed, by occasion of this woman, as you shall hereafter playnely perceyue: so that he beganne his mariage with euill, and ended it with worse" (Grafton, p. 561).

63. *next of blood*] Not again in Shakespeare. A very old expression, found in Robert de Brunne's *Chronicle* (*circa* 1330).

64. *remove . . . stumbling-blocks*] Compare Peele, *Edward I.* (*ante* 1588?): "'tis a deed of charity to *remove this stumbling-block*, a fair wench" (382, a). The compound word is old and familiar from its Biblical frequency. Not in Q.

65. *smooth my way*] Compare *Henry V.* II. ii. 188: "Every rub is *smoothed* on our way." Not in Q.

65. *headless necks*] This elaborately bloodthirsty line is too smooth for Greene, and not grandiose enough for Marlowe. Like a good many other lines, it recalls the hand of Peele (*Battle of Alcazar*). In the 1619 Quarto the line corresponding to this reads: "I'de reache to th' crowne, or make some hop headlesse" (Halliwell's edition for *Shakespeare Library*). *New Eng. Dict.* finds this "grimly jocular" expression for beheading back as far as

And, being a woman, I will not be slack
To play my part in Fortune's pageant.
Where are you there? Sir John! nay, fear not, man,
We are alone; here 's none but thee and I.

Enter HUME.

Hume. Jesus preserve your royal majesty!
Duch. What say'st thou? majesty! I am but grace.
Hume. But, by the grace of God, and Hume's advice,
Your grace's title shall be multiplied.
Duch. What say'st thou, man? hast thou as yet conferred
With Margery Jourdain, the cunning witch,
And Roger Bolingbroke, the conjurer?
And will they undertake to do me good?
Hume. This they have promised, to show your highness
A spirit raised from depth of under-ground,

68, 69. *Where are you . . . and I. Enter Hume.*] 47, 48. *Who is within there? Enter Sir Iohn Hum. What Sir Iohn Hum, what newes with you?* 70. *Hume*] 49. *Sir Iohn* (and throughout). 70. *your royal majesty*] 49. *your maiestie.* 71. *What . . . grace*] 50. *My Maiestie. Why man I . . . grace.* 72. *Hume*] 51. *Hum* (and throughout). 72, 73. *But, by the . . . be multiplied*] 51, 52. *I, but by the . . . state shall be aduanst ere long.* 74-77. *What sayst thou . . . good?*] 53-55 (prose). *What hast thou conferd . . . Witch of Ely, with Roger Bullingbrooke and the rest, and . . . good?* 78-81. *This they . . . A spirit rais'd from . . . propounded him*] 56-58 (prose). *I have Madame, and they have promised me to raise a Spirite from . . . that shall tell your grace all questions you demaund.*

Robert de Brunne's *Chronicle* (*circa* 1330). See Greene, in his play, *James the Fourth* (Grosart, xiii. 255):—

"On paine of death, proud Bishop, get you gone,
Vnlesse you *headlesse* mean to hoppe away."

Compare *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* (a play where Greene's hand is evident); Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*, p. 255: "Ile make him hoppe *headlesse*" (1591). And in *The True Chronicle History of King Leir* (*Shakespeare Library*, p. 342): "I will make him hop without a *head*" (1593).

66, 67. *slack to play*] See quotation at *common sort*, Part III. v. v. 87.

67. *play . . . pageant*] Compare Hall, *Chronicle* (XIth Yere), p. 169: "This *pageant plaied*, the Regent sent Peter of Luxenborough . . . to besiege the toune of Sainct Valerie." And again, p. 279: "The Erle of Warwickes doynges, which must needes *play a pageaunt* in this enterlude, or else the plai wer at a poynt."

68. *Sir John*] A common early designation for clerks in holy orders. See Grafton's *Chronicle*, i. 241: "Till the king had payde all which their Clergie had demaunded . . . yea every sawcy *Sir Ihon* for his part."

69. *silence of the night* (Contention)] See below, I. iv. 16, note. For "backside of my orchard," compare "backside of the well," Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (455, a).

75, 76. *Jourdain . . . Bolingbroke*] See extract from Grafton at the beginning of Scene iv. below.

76. *conjurer*] See Part I. I. i. 26.

77. *do me good*] enable me to succeed. Compare *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. iv. 152; and below, in this play, IV. iii. 17. Similarly in Golding's *Ovid* (bk. xiv. l. 411): "Where for the thicknesse of the trees a horse myght *doo no good*." See below, III. i. 19. "*Do thee good*" occurs twice in *Soliman and Perseda*.

79. *depth of under-ground*] See II. i. 172. And *The Spanish Tragedy* (I. vi. 1, 2) (Boas):—

That shall make answer to such questions
As by your grace shall be propounded him.
Duch. It is enough: I 'll think upon the questions.
When from Saint Alban's we do make return
We 'll see these things effected to the full.
Here, Hume, take this reward; make merry, man,
With thy confederates in this weighty cause. [*Exit.*
Hume. Hume must make merry with the duchess' gold;
Marry and shall. But how now, Sir John Hume!
Seal up your lips and give no words but mum:
The business asketh silent secrecy.
Dame Eleanor gives gold to bring the witch:
Gold cannot come amiss, were she a devil.
Yet have I gold flies from another coast:
I dare not say from the rich cardinal

82-86. *It is enough . . . this weighty cause. Exit.*] 59-67. *Thanks, good Sir Iohn. Some two daies hence I gesse Will fit our time, then see that they be here: For now the King is riding to Saint Albones. And all the Dukes and Earles along with him, When they be gone, then safely they may come, And on the backside of my orchard here, There cast their Spelles in silence of the night, And so resolue vs of the thing we wish, Till when, drinke that for my sake, And so farwell. Exet Elnor.* 87-91. *Hume must . . . witch*] 68-71. *Now Sir Iohn Hum, No words but mum, Seale vp your lips, for you must silent be, These gifts ere long will make me mightie rich, The Duches she thinks now that all is well.* 92, 93. *Gold cannot . . . another coast*] 72. *But I have gold comes from another place.* 94-99. *I dare not . . . in her brain*] 73-80. *From one that hyred me to set her on, To plot these Treasons gainst the King and Peeres, And that is the mightie Duke of*

"Come we for thee from *depth of under ground*
To see him feast that gave me my deaths wound."

Spenser has:—

"Merlin whylome wont (they say)
To make his wonne, low underneath the *ground*"

(*Faerie Queene*, III. iii. 7).

81. *propounded*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Greene uses it of evidence in his *Philomela* (Grosart, xi. 187). The Duchess is fuller in her arrangements in the Quarto, for the obvious reason, that there is repetition to be avoided. See note at "silence of the night," I. iv. 10 below. It is more artistic to shift these details to their place of action.

88. *Marry and shall*] See again *1 Henry IV.* v. ii. 34, and *Richard III.* III. iv. 36. Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (II. xiv. 156) (Boas): "I *marry*, my Lord, *and shall*."

89. *Seal up*] Frequent in Shakespeare, with "eyes," "mouth," etc.

89. *mum*] Note the rhyming couplet (Hum, mum) in the Quarto, l. 68.

89. *no words but mum*] Compare Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (457, a): "What, *not a word but mum?*" And Skelton, *Garlande of Laurell* (Dyce, i. 406), 1515: "There was amonge them *no worde then but mum*." The proverbial form is not in Shakespeare, exactly, again.

90. *asketh*] requires. Compare *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i. 115: "My business *asketh* haste"; and elsewhere in Shakespeare. Not in Q. Compare Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*: "Why sit we not? for pleasure *asketh* ease" (Act II. iv. 23).

90. *silent secrecy*] See below, II. ii. 68. Not in Q.

93. *coast*] quarter, direction. Schmidt omits to distinguish this sense, which is not met with again in Shakespeare. In the Quarto it is "place."

94. *from the rich cardinal*] Yet another insertion to lay stress on the cardinal's relentless hate for Gloucester. In the *Contention* (or Quarto) Hume distinctly states his other source is Suffolk alone.

And from the great and new-made Duke of Suffolk;
Yet I do find it so: for, to be plain,
They, knowing Dame Eleanor's aspiring humour,
Have hired me to undermine the duchess
And buz these conjurations in her brain.
They say "A crafty knave does need no broker";
Yet am I Suffolk and the cardinal's broker.
Hume, if you take not heed, you shall go near
To call them both a pair of crafty knaves.
Well, so it stands; and thus, I fear at last
Hume's knavery will be the duchess' wrack,
And her attainture will be Humphrey's fall.
Sort how it will I shall have gold for all. [*Exit.*

SCENE III.—*The palace.*

Enter three or four Petitioners, PETER, *the Armourer's man, being one.*

First Petit. My masters, let's stand close: my lord protector will come this way by and by, and then we may deliver our supplications in the quill.

Suffolke. For he it is, but I must not say so, That by my meanes must worke the Duches fall, Who now by Conjurations thinkes to rise. But whist Sir Iohn, no more of that I trow, For feare you lose your head before you goe. Exet.

Scene III.

Scene III.] omitted Q. *Enter . . .*] *Enter two petitioners, and Peter the Armourer's man.* Q. 1-3. *First Petit. My masters . . . quill*] 1-3 (verse).

97. *aspiring humour*] See note at "*aspiring* French," Part I. v. iv. 99.

99. *buz*] This verb occurs again, *3 Henry VI.* II. vi. 95 and v. vi. 86. And in *Titus Andronicus*, IV. iv. 7, and *Richard II.* II. i. 26. See, too, *Henry VIII.* II. i. 148. Not in Q. Peele has it exactly in *The Tale of Troy* (551, a), 1589:—

"Till one, I say, revengeful power or other
Buzz'd in the brain of her unhappy mother
A dreadful dream."

Greene often has "buzz in the ears" of a tale, or slander.

100. *A crafty knave does need no broker*] The old form of this proverb, which was very common, was "Two fase *knaves need no broker*," which is in Heywood's *Proverbs* (edited Sharman, p. 62), 1546. Greene, however, always used it as in the text: "It hath been used as a common byword, *a craftie knave needeth no Broker*, wherby it should appeare that there can hardlie bee a craftier knave then a Broker" (*Third Part of Conny Catching* (Grosart, x. 185), 1592). It is also in Nashe (*A Prognostication*, Grosart, ii. 161) in the plural. Not in Q.

105. *wrack*] See Part I. IV. i. 56 (note).

106. *attainture*] disgrace. Compare *tainture*, II. i. 188 below. *New Eng. Dict.* gives the word here the sense of attainder, conviction, with earlier illustrations.

Scene III.

2. *by and by*] immediately. Very frequent in Shakespeare. Compare Edward's *Damon and Pithias* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, iv. 93): "do thine office *by and by*." And Sidney's *Arcadia*: "And *by and by* called him to fight with him, protesting that one of them two should die" (bk. i.). Not in Q.

3. *in the quill*] simultaneously (*New Eng. Dict.*). Unexplained. Compare

Second Petit. Marry, the Lord protect him, for he 's a good man! Jesu bless him!

Enter SUFFOLK *and* QUEEN.

Peter. Here a' comes, methinks, and the queen with him. I 'll be the first, sure.

Second Petit. Come back, fool! this is the Duke of Suffolk, and not my lord protector.

Suf. How now, fellow! would'st any thing with me?

First Petit. I pray, my lord, pardon me: I took ye for my lord protector.

Queen. "To my Lord Protector!" Are your supplications to his lordship? Let me see them: what is thine?

First Petit. Mine is, an 't please your grace, against John Goodman, my lord cardinal's man, for keeping my house, and lands, and wife, and all, from me.

Suf. Thy wife too! that 's some wrong indeed. What 's yours? What 's here! "Against the Duke of Suffolk,

1. *Peti. Come sirs let 's linger here abouts a while, Vntill my Lord Protector come this way, That we may show his Grace our seuerall causes.* 4, 5. *Second Petit. Marry . . . bless him!*] 4-8. 2. *Peti. I pray God saue the good Duke Humphries life, For but for him a many were undone That cannot get no succour in the Court, But see where he comes with the Queene.* 6, 7. *Peter. Here a' comes . . . sure*] included in Second Petitioner's last speech. 8, 9. *Second Petit. Come . . . protector*] *Enter the Duke of Suffolke with the Queene, and they take him for Duke Humphrey and give him their writings.* 1. *Peti. Oh we are undone, this is the Duke of Suffolke.* 10. *How now . . . with me*] 9. *Queene. Now good fellowes, whom would you speake withall?* 11-14. *First Petit. I pray . . . Queen. "To my . . ." thine?*] 11-15. *Queene. Are your sutes to his grace. Let us see them first, Looke on them my Lord of Suffolke. Suffolke. A complaint against the Cardinals man, What hath he done?* (as if verse). 15-17. *Mine is . . . from me*] 16, 17. 2 *Peti. Marry my Lord, he hath stole away my wife, And th' are gone togither, and I know not where to finde them* (as verse). 18, 19. *Thy wife, . . . What's yours?*] 18, 19. *Hath he stole thy wife, thats some iniury indeed, But what say you?* 19-21. *What's here! Against the . . . Melford . . . knave*] 35-38. *Whats here? A complaint against . . . long Melford . . . knave.*

The Devonshire Damsel's Frolic, 1685 (Appendix to Ebsworth's *Westminster Drollery*, p. 341):—

"Thus those Females were all *in a quill*
And following on their pastime still."

See Davie's *Supplementary English Glossary* for quotations from Roger North's *Examen*, 1740. See, too, Ainsworth's *Latin Dictionary* (1741), "ex compacto agere." "Qu'lls" at the date of this play meant water-pipes, as in North's *Plutarch, Cato* (Tudor Trans. iii. 26). Many unavailing alterations and explanations have been offered. Not in Q.

19. *Against the Duke of Suffolk*] The "articles proponed by the commons *against the Duke of Suffolke*" are set forth by Grafton in ten Items in "The XXVIIJ Yere" (1450). They relate chiefly to the King's marriage and other French affairs. At the close of them it is stated: "All these obiections he utterly denied, or faintly auoyded, but none fully excused. Diuers other crimes were laide to his charge, as enryching hymselfe with the King's goods, and landes, gathering together and making a Monopoly ['money pollde' in Hall] of officies, fees, wards and fermes" (p. 639). The special act of enclosing here referred to has not been

for enclosing the commons of Melford." How now, sir knave!

Second Petit. Alas! sir, I am but a poor petitioner of our whole township.

Peter. Against my master, Thomas Horner, for saying that the Duke of York was rightful heir to the crown.

Queen. What sayest thou? did the Duke of York say he was rightful heir to the crown?

Peter. That my master was? No, forsooth: my master said that he was, and that the king was an usurper.

Suf. Who is there?

Enter Servants.

Take this fellow in, and send for his master with a pursuivant presently. We 'll hear more of your matter before the king. [*Exeunt Servants with Peter.*

Queen. And as for you, that love to be protected
Under the wings of our protector's grace,

22, 23. *Second Petit. Alas! sir, I am . . . of . . . township*] 39, 40. 1 *Peti. I beseech your Grace to pardon me, me, I am . . . town-ship.* He teares the papers. 24-26. *Peter. Against . . . crown*] 20-24. *Peter Thump. Marry sir I come to tel you that my maister said, that the Duke of Yorke was true heire unto the Crowne, and that the King was an vsurer. Queene. An usurper thou wouldst say. Peter. I forsooth an vsurper.* 27-31. *Queen. What sayest . . . usurper*] 25. *Queene. Didst thou say the king was an usurper? Peter. No forsooth, I saide my maister saide so, th' other day, when we were scowring the Duke of Yorks Armour in our garret.* 32-35. *Suf. Who is . . . before the King*] 29-33. *Suffolke. I marry this is something like, Whose within there? Enter one or two. Sirra take in this fellow and keepe him close, And send out a Purseuant for his maister straight, Weele . . . of this . . . King* (verse). *Exet. with the Armorer's man.* 36-39. *Queen. And as . . . let them go*] 41-43. *Suffolke. So now show your petitions to Duke Humphrey, Villaines get you gone and come not neare the Court, Dare these pesants write against me thus. Exet. Petitioners.*

noted upon. Long Melford, in Suffolk, had for its chief family, in Henry VIth's time, de Clopton (Lewis). The allusion here may be to an occurrence of Shakespeare's times.

22. *poor petitioner*] Perhaps an usual term, as in *Spanish Tragedy*, III. xiii. 46: "Heere are a sort of *poore Petitioners*."

23. *township*] Not again in Shakespeare. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, viii. 868: "all this wicked *towneship* shall Abye their gylt" (1567).

23-26. In the collation here Peter is "Peter Thumpe" in the *Contention*. See II. iii. 82-84. And for "scouring armour" of the next lines, see below, l. 190. For the authority for the Armourer incident, see note below, iv. 175.

29. *master*] The first three Folios have the misprint "mistress," first altered by Warburton. But possibly Peter got confused about the lady he was talking to. He has already (Q) used "usurer" for "usurper."

32. *Who is there?*] The expression "this is something like" of the Quarto is noteworthy. It is still common colloquially. "This is somewhat yet" occurs in *Narcissus* (1602), p. 4. It means "now we're getting at it," half contemptuously.

37. *Under the wings*] Compare Part I. v. iii. 57. In *King John*, II. i. 14,

Begin your suits anew, and sue to him.
[*Tears the petition.*
Away, base cullions! Suffolk, let them go.
All. Come, let 's be gone. [*Exeunt Petitioners.*
Queen. My Lord of Suffolk, say, is this the guise,
Is this the fashion in the court of England?
Is this the government of Britain's isle,
And this the royalty of Albion's king?
What! shall King Henry be a pupil still
Under the surly Gloucester's governance?
Am I a queen in title and in style,
And must be made a subject to a duke?
I tell thee, Pole, when in the city Tours
Thou rann'st a tilt in honour of my love,

40. *All. Come let 's be gone*] omitted Q. 41-48. *My lord . . . to a duke*] 44-51. *My lord of Suffolke, you may see by this, The Commons loue unto that haughtie Duke, That seekes to him more then to King Henry, Whose eyes are alwaies poring on his booke, and nere regards the honour of his name, But still must be protected like a childe, And governed by that ambitious Duke, That scarse will move his cap nor speake to us.* 49-53. *I tell thee, Pole . . . proportion*] 59-62. *I tell thee Poull, when thou didst runne at Tilt, And stolst away our Ladaies hearts in France, I . . . been like to thee, Or else thou hadst not brought me out of France.*

the same phrase refers to the wings of a battle. The metaphor here is from the Bible, Ruth ii. 12 (and elsewhere).

39. *cullions*] wretches. Compare Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (452, b): "Hence, base *cullion!*" Not in Q. Shakespeare uses this opprobrious epithet again in *Taming of a Shrew*, and in *Henry V.* It is in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, v. ii.

40. *Exeunt Petitioners*] For the source of the Armourer's episode, see extract at II. iii. (end). Note the omission of "Marry" in the opening conversation, which occurs three times in Q.

41. *guise*] recognised custom or fashion; as in *Cymbeline*, v. i. 32. The word was often used as here of the custom of a country, as in Timothie Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrams* (reprint, p. 54), 1577: "all disordered lye my locks, after the Spanish *guise*." And several times in Golding's *Ovid:* "When judgement should bee giuen it was the *guyse* in auncient tyme" (bk. xv. l. 48). These first four lines (41-44) have no parallel in *The Contention.* "*Guise* of the court" occurs in Caxton's *Reynard the Fox*, 1481.

44. *Albion*] Shakespeare only uses "Albion" while working at the *Chronicles*, once in *King Lear*, once in *Henry V.*, and twice in this and twice in the following part of *Henry VI.* Greene has it often in *Frier Bacon.* Not in Q. The queen's speech here differs more from Q than anything we have yet met with. Note passage here in *Contention:* "eyes . . . poring on his book." Shakespeare has this twice in *Love's Labour's Lost*—nowhere else.

45, 46. *King Henry be a pupil . . . Gloucester's governance*] See note above, I. i. 163, 164. Almost the exact words are in Hall and Grafton (The XXV Yere): "like a yong Scholer or innocent Pupile to be governed by the disposition of an other man" (p. 629); and a little higher, he (King Henry) "passed not much on the aucthoritie and governaunce of the realme." "Governance" is not found again in Shakespeare. It is frequent in Hall (p. 242, 1809, *e.g.*). And in Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1509.

49, 50. *Pole, when in the city Tours Thou rann'st a tilt*] at the "triumphant Iustes" held there when Suffolk went for the queen as procurator. See extract, I. i. 1-3. These lines recall or are imitated by Marlowe in *Edward the Second* (220, a):—

"Tell Isabel the queen, I look'd not thus,

And stol'st away the ladies' hearts of France,
I thought King Henry had resembled thee
In courage, courtship, and proportion:
But all his mind is bent to holiness,
To number Ave-Maries on his beads;
His champions are the prophets and apostles,
His weapons holy saws of sacred writ,
His study is his tilt-yard, and his loves
Are brazen images of canonised saints.
I would the college of the cardinals
Would choose him pope, and carry him to Rome,
And set the triple crown upon his head:
That were a state fit for his holiness.

54-63. *But all his mind . . . his holiness*] See ll. 46, 47, quoted at l. 44 above.

When for her sake I *ran at tilt* in France,
And there unhors'd the Duke of Cleremont."

It is important that they occur also in *The Contention*. The expression is in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng* (466), 1543: "the duke of Albany . . . fled into Fraunce, & there was kylled runnynge at the *tylte* in Parys."

54-63. *bent to holiness . . . his holiness*] Boswell Stone quotes here a description of Henry given at his murder in the Tower, in the tenth year of King Edward IV. But the living description of him in the Chroniclers is to be preferred for many reasons. It is a piece of the same account as the queen's manly disposition (The XXV Yere): "King Henry . . . was a man of a meeke spirite, and of a simple witte, preferring peace before warre . . . And to the intent, that all men might perceiue, that there coulde be none, more chaste, more meeke, more holye, nor a better creature: In him raigned shamefastnesse [note in *3 Henry VI.* IV. viii. 53, "the shame-faced Henry"], modesty, integritie and patience to be maruayled at . . . he was gouerned of them whome he shoulde have ruled . . . He gaped not for honor, nor thristed for riches but studied onelye for the health of hys soule: the sauing whereof, he esteemed to be the greatest wisedome, and the losse thereof, the extremest folie that coulde be" (Grafton, p. 628). See the opening of Scene vi. in the last Act of Part III. Henry's holiness is again made prominent in IV. i. 18, by lines not in the original, in several places.

55. *number Ave-Maries on his beads*] Repeated in *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 162; see lines from *Faerie Queene* there quoted.

59. *canonised saints*] Polydore Vergil bears the fullest testimony to Henry's holiness. He says (Camden Society, p. 157): "These and suche lyke actions and offices of parfyte holynes, made, that for his cause God shewyd many myracles in hys lyfe time. By reason whereof King Henry the VIIth not without desert, began a few yeres past to procure at the hande of Julius byshop of Rome that he might be *canonyzd* for a *Saint*, but being preventid by hasty death he could not perform that honorable fact." We have one of these miracles presently. See *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 156.

62. *triple crown*] of the pope. This expression Shakespeare found in Hall (or Grafton). See extract at the beginning of III. iii. It is used also by Peele in a rant against popery in *A Farewell to the Generals* (Portugal Voyage), 1589:—

"To steel your swords on Avarice' *triple crown*,
And cleanse Augeas' stalls in Italy" (Dyce, 549, b). And also by Marlowe, *Massacre at Paris*, iii. 5 (240, a) (as pointed out by Robertson in *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* who does not give this ulterior source). Spenser's Duessa is sometimes given the mitre (*Faerie Queene*, I. viii. 25); sometimes the "*triple crown*" (I. vii. 16).

Suf. Madam, be patient; as I was cause
Your highness came to England, so will I
In England work your grace's full content.
Queen. Beside the haughty protector, have we Beaufort
The imperious churchman, Somerset, Buckingham,
And grumbling York; and not the least of these
But can do more in England than the king.
Suf. And he of these that can do most of all
Cannot do more in England than the Nevils:
Salisbury and Warwick are no simple peers.
Queen. Not all these lords do vex me half so much
As that proud dame, the lord protector's wife:
She sweeps it through the court with troops of ladies,
More like an empress than Duke Humphrey's wife.
Strangers in court do take her for the queen:
She bears a duke's revenues on her back,
And in her heart she scorns our poverty.
Shall I not live to be avenged on her?
Contemptuous base-born callat as she is,

64-66. *Madam . . . content*] 63-65. *Madame content your selfe a little while, As I was cause of your comming to England, So will I in England worke your full content.* 67. *haughty protector*] 45. *haughtie Duke.* 67-70. *Queen. Beside the . . . the king*] speech omitted Q. 71-73. *Suf. And he . . . no simple peers*] speech omitted Q. 74. *Not all . . . much*] omitted Q. 75-78. *As that proud dame . . . queen*] 52-54. *And his proud wife, high minded Elanor, That ruffles it with such a troope of ladies, As strangers in the Court takes her for the Queene.* 79. *She . . . back*] Q 3 (1619) inserts after 54. *She beares a dukes whole reuennewes on her backe.* 80-82. *And in her heart . . . as she is*] omitted Q.

72. *in England than the Nevils*] See I. i. 188-191, and note.

75. *lord protector's wife*] Replaces "high-minded Elanor" of *Contention.* See note, Part I. I. v. 12.

76. *sweeps it through the court*] Compare *Henry V.* III. v. 48. And Golding's *Ovid*, xi. 217, 218:—

"Apollo after this revenge from Tmolus tooke his flyght:
And sweeping through the ayre, did on the selfsame syde alyght."

79. *She bears . . . revenues on her back*] This line, accidentally dropt out in Q 1, is restored in Q 3 (1619). Or it may be regarded as an interpolation in the latter from Shakespeare's play before us. Compare Marlowe, *Edward the Second* (193, a): "He wears a lords revenue on his back." It became a very common sentiment in those days of extravagance in dress. Cyril Tourneur has the line "walk with a hundred acres on their backs" in *The Revenger's Tragedy* (Act ii.). And Lodge, *Wits Miserie:* "A weakling of womankind to weare whole lordships and manor-houses on her backe." And several times in Ben Jonson. For Gloucester's "wife's attire," see below, ll. 129, 130. See note above at ll. 49, 50.

82. *Contemptuous*] despicable, contemptible. Occurs again (disdainful) in *King John*, II. i. 384; and the adverb (disdainfully) in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii. 112. These words in *tuous* (sumptuous, presumptuous, tempestuous and virtuous) seem to be just receiving acceptation. Not in Q. Compare Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. 3: "To bridle their *contemptuous* cursing tongues."

82. *base-born*] Occurs again below, IV. viii. 39, and in Part III. II. ii. 143. Earlier in *New Eng. Dict.* in Spenser, 1541. Peele has

"What, am I then a friar's *base-born* brat?
Presumptuous wretch, why press [prease] I 'fore my king?"

She vaunted 'mongst her minions t' other day,
The very train of her worst wearing gown
Was better worth than all my father's lands,
Till Suffolk gave two dukedoms for his daughter.
Suf. Madam, myself have limed a bush for her,
And placed a quire of such enticing birds
That she will light to listen to the lays,
And never mount to trouble you again.
So, let her rest: and, madam, list to me;
For I am bold to counsel you in this.
Although we fancy not the cardinal,
Yet must we join with him and with the lords
Till we have brought Duke Humphrey in disgrace.
As for the Duke of York, this late complaint
Will make but little for his benefit:
So, one by one, we 'll weed them all at last,
And you yourself shall steer the happy helm.

83-85. *She vaunted . . . father's lands*] 55-58. *The other day she vanted to her maides, That the very traine of her worst gowne, Was worth more wealth then . . . lands, Can any griefe of minde be like to this* (this last line (58) may be equated with half of 74 above). 86. *Till . . . daughter*] omitted Q. 87-91. *Madam, myself . . . let her rest*] 66-69. *And as for proud Duke Humphrey and his wife, I have set lime-twigs that will intangle them, As that your grace ere long shall understand. But staie Madame, here comes the King.* 91-99. *And, madame list to me . . . happy helm*] omitted Q. *Sound a sennet . . .*] *Enter King Henry, and the Duke of Yorke and the Duke of Somerset on both sides of the King, whispering with him, and enter Duke Humphrey, Dame Elnor, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earle of Salsbury, the Earle of Warwicke, and the Cardinall of Winchester.*

(*Edward I.* 413, b). Not in Q. Peele has the word also in *David and Bethsabe* (465, b). Stern-born, home-born, free-born and true-born all occur in Kyd's *Cornelia* (*ante* 1595), probably later than this play. Often in *Tamburlaine*, Part I.: "*base-born* Tartars," ii. 2.

82. *callat*] An abusive term to a woman used by Skelton. See *Othello*, iv. ii. 122, and note, Arden edition, p. 206. Also in *Winter's Tale*, ii. iii. 90, and *3 Henry VI.* ii. ii. 145. In Lodge and Greene's *Looking Glasse for London* (xiv. 57) it is correctly applied to an old woman: "What, succour me? false *callet* hence, avant; Old dotard, pack." (Irish, *calliagh* or *calliasht.*) Golding has it in his *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, bk. vi. line 170. Not in Q.

83. *minions*] servile favourites. So Grafton (p. 637): "the Queene with her *Minions* and vnprofitable Counsaylors."

86. *two dukedoms*] We have had this before, i. i. 217. It is not in the *Contention.*

87. *limed a bush*] smeared it with birdlime. The alteration from "set lime-twigs" is Shakespeare's method. He has the verb "to lime" in *Much Ado About Nothing*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Twelfth Night* and *Hamlet*, as well as again in this play and twice in Part III. See note *3 Henry VI.* v. vi. 13.

88. *quire of such enticing birds*] decoy birds. Compare *Cymbeline*, iii. iii. 43. "Enticing" has the sense of bewitching, enchanting by magic. Compare Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (457, a): "because you shall not be *enticed* with his (the magician's) enchanting speeches, with this same wool I 'll stop your ears." See note at "incaged birds," *3 Henry VI.* iv. vi. 12.

91. *So, let her rest*] Compare Peele, *Alcazar* (end): "*So let it rest*, and on this earth bestow this princely corse." No more about that. See "But *let it rest*" in *Contention* below at line 144.

99. *helm*] helm, or rudder, of state.

Sound a sennet. Enter the KING, *Duke* HUMPHREY *of* GLOUCESTER, *Cardinal* BEAUFORT, BUCKINGHAM, YORK, SOMERSET, SALISBURY, WARWICK, *and the Duchess of* GLOUCESTER.

King. For my part, noble lords, I care not which;
Or Somerset or York, all 's one to me.
York. If York have ill demeaned himself in France,
Then let him be denayed the regentship.
Som. If Somerset be unworthy of the place,
Let York be regent; I will yield to him.
War. Whether your grace be worthy, yea or no,
Dispute not that: York is the worthier.
Car. Ambitious Warwick, let thy betters speak.
War. The cardinal 's not my better in the field.
Buck. All in this presence are thy betters, Warwick.
War. Warwick may live to be the best of all.
Sal. Peace, son! and show some reason, Buckingham,
Why Somerset should be preferred in this.
Queen. Because the king, forsooth, will have it so.
Glou. Madam, the king is old enough himself
To give his censure: these are no women's matters.
Queen. If he be old enough, what needs your grace
To be protector of his excellence?

100, 101. *For my part . . . to me*] 70, 71 (prose). *My lords I . . . who be Regent in France, or York, or Somerset, all's . . . me.* 102, 103. *If York . . . regentship*] 72, 73. *My Lord, if . . . himselfe, Let Somerset enjoy his place and go to France.* 104, 105. *If Somerset . . . to him*] 74, 75. *Then whom your grace thinke worthie, let him go, And there be made the Regent ouer the French.* 106, 107. *Whether . . . worthier*] 76, 77. *Whom soeuer you account worthie, Yorke is the worthiest.* 108. *Ambitious . . . speak*] 78. *Pease Warwicke. Give thy betters leaue to speake.* 109, 110. *The Cardinal's . . . betters, Warwick*] 79, 80. *The Cardinals . . . this place . . . betters farre.* 111. *Warwick . . . of all*] 81. *And Warwicke . . . of all.* 112, 113. *Sal. Peace, son! . . . in this*] omitted Q. (Compare collation above, line 108). 114. *Because . . . it so*] 82. *My Lord in mine opinion, it were best that Somerset were Regent ouer France* (prose). 115, 116. *Madame the king . . . matters*] 84, 85. *Madame our King is . . . his answere without your consent.* 117, 118. *If he be . . . of his excellence?*] 86, 87. *If he be . . . ouer him so long.*

103. *denayed*] Occurs again *Twelfth Night*, II. iv. 127. An old form. Compare Greene, *A Maidens Dreame*: "The poore were neuer at their neede *denaid*" (Grosart, xiv. 310).

103. *the regentship*] In 1445 (The XXIIIJ Yere) (Grafton, p. 626) "the Duke of Sommerset was appoynted Regent of Normandie, and the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged." The term "regentship" is in *Contention;* see collation below at ll. 121-126. An earlier example is in *New Eng. Dict.* from Fenton, 1579. See note at "protectorship," II. i. 30.

115. *old enough*] See I. i. 163; and ll. 45, 46 below.

117, 118. *what needs your grace To be protector*] This intrigue against Gloucester is thus told: "first of all she excluded the Duke of Gloucester from all rule and gouvernaunce, not prohibityng suche as she knewe to be his mortall enemies, to inuent and imagine causes and griefes agaynst him and hys: so that by her permission and favour

Glou. Madam, I am protector of the realm,
And at his pleasure will resign my place.
Suf. Resign it then and leave thine insolence.
Since thou wert king, as who is king but thou?
The commonwealth hath daily run to wrack;
The Dauphin hath prevailed beyond the seas;
And all the peers and nobles of the realm
Have been as bondmen to thy sovereignty.
Car. The commons hast thou racked; the clergy's bags
Are lank and lean with thy extortions.
Som. Thy sumptuous buildings and thy wife's attire
Have cost a mass of public treasury.
Buck. Thy cruelty in execution
Upon offenders hath exceeded law,
And left thee to the mercy of the law.
Queen. Thy sale of offices and towns in France,
If they were known, as the suspect is great,
Would make thee quickly hop without thy head.
[*Exit Gloucester. The Queen drops her fan.*

119, 120. *Madam . . . place*] 89, 90. *Madame I am but Protector ouer the land, And when it please his grace, I will resigne my charge.* 121-126. *Resign . . . sovereignty*] 90-95. *Resigne it then for since that thou wast King, As who is King but thee. The common state Doth as we see, all wholly go to wracke, And Millions of treasure hath bene spent And as for the Regentship of France, I say Somerset is more worthie then Yorke.* 127-136. *Car. The Commons . . . hop without thy head*] omitted Q. 136. *Exit Gloucester . . .*] 129. *Exet Humphrey.* 136. *The Queen drops her fan*] 133. *Exit with them* (Suffolk and "the . . . the Duke of Suffolke, and the Duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe, not unprocured by the Cardinall of Winchester and the Archebishop of Yorke. Dyuers articles both heynous and odious were layde to hys charge in open counsayle, and in especiall one, that he had caused men adiudged to dye, to be put to other execution, then the law of the land had ordered or assigned: for surely the Duke being very well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, . . . gat great malyce and hatred of such, as feered to have condigne reward for their . . . mischieuous doyngs" (Grafton, p. 629). This last paragraph is Buckingham's accusation (131-133). It is very noticeable that there is no charge on the Cardinal's part in the *Contention*, though it is authentic, at this "open counsayle." See note line 27 above in Scene ii. Polydore Vergil says (p. 71, Camden Soc.): "There were forthwith a companye readie to sedition . . . who . . . did urge forwarde, exhorte, and perswade her, to looke into the revenewes of the Crowne, to call for an accompt thereof, and so should she well understande that the duek had used the same, not for the common wealth but for his owne private commoditie." This is Somerset's charge (130).

121-126. Suffolk's charges and likewise that of Queen Margaret concerning France, are the charges (some of them) that were "put up to the King and the Lordes" by the Commons of the nether house (pp. 628, 629) against Suffolk himself! This seems rather a crafty point. The Cardinal's charge comes under the same heading. See extract at the passage (iii. 19, 20) about Suffolk's enclosure of the commons. The Cardinal's charge against "the good Duke Humphrey" is especially outrageous. For more about all this, see III. i. 58-118.

127. *racked*] See above, I. ii. 105 (note).

136. *hop without thy head*] See note above (ii. 65) at "headless necks."

Give me my fan: what, minion! can ye not?
[*She gives the Duchess a box on the ear.*
I cry you mercy, madam; was it you?
Duch. Was 't I! yea, I it was, proud Frenchwoman:
Could I come near your beauty with my nails
I 'd set my ten commandments in your face.
King. Sweet aunt, be quiet; 'twas against her will.
Duch. Against her will! Good king, look to 't in time;
She 'll hamper thee and dandle thee like a baby:
Though in this place most master wear no breeches,

Armourer and his man," entered l. 105). *The Queene lets fall her gloue, and hits the Duches of Gloster a box on the eare.* 137. *Give . . . not?*] 134. *Give . . . glove, Why Minion can you not see? She strikes her.* 138. *was it you*] 135, 136. *I did mistake, I did not thinke it had bene you.* 139-141. *Was't I . . . your face*] 137-139. *Did you not proud French-woman, Could . . . daintie vissage . . . face.* 142. *Sweet . . . will*] 140, 141. *Be patient gentle Aunt It was . . . will.* 143-146. *Against . . . unrevenged*] 142-145. *Against . . . sheele dandle thee, If thou wilt alwaies thus be rulde by her. But let it rest. As sure as I do liue, She . . . unrevengde.*

137. *can ye not?*] Our "can't you?" The contraction occurs only in *Coriolanus*.

137. *She gives the Duchess a box on the ear*] This incident recalls one in Peele's *Edward I.* (Dyce, 392), where the Queen "longs to give your grace *a box on th' ear*," and accomplishes it. Q have the phrase in full. There is much transposition in this scene from Q. At a later date (1608) Chapman had to withdraw a scene from Byron's *Conspiracie*, introducing the Queen of France rating a lady of the court and boxing her ears (Ward).

138. *I cry you mercy*] See Part I. v. iii. 109 (note).

141. *set my ten commandments*] An old expression. Compare Heywood, *The Four PP.* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, i. 381), 1540:—

"Nay ten times I beseech him that high sits,
Thy wife's *ten commandments* may search thy five wits"

(cited by Steevens). And Udall's *Erasmus* (Roberts' reprint, p. 27), 1542: "To auenge soche a naughtie touche or pranke, with his *tenne commandements*." And *Selimus*, by Greene and Marlowe (Grosart's, Greene, xiv. 264), 1594: "I would set a tap abroach and not liue in daily feare of the breach of my wiues *ten commandements*." The most exact parallel is from *Locrine*, IV. ii.: "fearing she would set her *ten commandments* in my face" (a play, be it remarked, that bears strong marks of Peele's hand).

142. *Sweet aunt, be quiet*] The king's only remonstrance at this outrage reads very lamely. One would not expect to find his temperate rebuke to the Queen (Q) omitted.

144. *hamper*] fetter, clog, obstruct. Perhaps with a back-sense of the cradle. Not in Shakespeare again. Not in Q. A common early word.

144. *dandle . . . a baby*] Compare *Titus Andronicus*, IV. ii. 161; the only parallel in Shakespeare. The expression "But let it rest" here, in *Contention*, is found in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, Act v. (Dyce, 440, a), noted already.

145. *most master*] the greatest master, *i.e.* the King. But the sense is confused. Craig thinks a line has been dropped out after 144. Not in Q.

145. *wear no breeches*] Compare *3 Henry VI.* v. v. 24, where "breech" stands for breeches—an old sense. The proverb seems to have been originally used as here, of the husband being in command (wearing the breeches) and transferred later. Compare Heywood (ed. Sharman, p. 100), 1546: "Who had the worse end of the staffe (quoth I), now? Shall the mayster *weare a breeche*, or none, say you?" And *The Boke of Mayd Emlyn* (Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. iv. 88), *circa* 1515:—

"All women be suche,
Thoughe the man bere the *breche*,
They wyll be euer checkemate.
Faced lyke an aungell,
Tonged lyke a deuyll of hell,
Great causers of debate!"

She shall not strike Dame Eleanor unrevenged. [*Exit.*

Buck. Lord cardinal, I will follow Eleanor,
And listen after Humphrey, how he proceeds:
She 's tickled now; her fume needs no spurs,
She 'll gallop far enough to her destruction.
[*Exit.*

Re-enter GLOUCESTER.

Glou. Now, lords, my choler being over-blown
With walking once about the quadrangle,
I come to talk of commonwealth affairs.
As for your spiteful false objections,
Prove them, and I lie open to the law:
But God in mercy so deal with my soul
As I in duty love my king and country!
But to the matter that we have in hand.
I say, my sovereign, York is meetest man
To be your regent in the realm of France.

Suf. Before we make election, give me leave
To show some reason, of no little force,
That York is most unmeet of any man.

147-150. *Buckingham. Lord Cardinal . . . destruction*] omitted Q. (Buckingham's speech replaced by) *King. Beleeue me my love, thou wart much to blame, I would not for a thousand pounds of gold, My noble vnckle had bene here in place. Enter Duke Humphrey. But see where he comes, I am glad he met her not. Vnckle Gloster, what answer makes your grace Concerning our Regent for the Realme of France, Whom thinks your grace is meetest for to send* (145-151). 151-160. *Now, lords . . . realm of France*] 153-158. *My gratious Lord, then this is my resolue, For that these words the Armourer should speake* (transferred to the speech of Gloucester after Armourer's entry, ll. 205, 206). 161-163. *Suf. Before . . . any man*] omitted Q.

In Heywood's *Epigrams upon Proverbs* (1562) there is a useful parallel:—

"The master *weareth no breech:* then I protest!
The master is a girl, a boy, or a beast."

This continues the sense of the king being a child. Not in Q.

148. *listen after*] endeavour to hear. Compare *2 Henry IV.* I. i. 29: "whom I sent . . . to *listen after* news." It occurs in *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third* (Hazlitt's Shakespeare Library, p. 86): "But hearst thou Catesbie, meane while I will *listen after* successe of the Duke of Buckingham." An old expression, seemingly revived by Shakespeare.

149. *fume*] passion, rage. Occurs again *Venus and Adonus*, 316 (also of a horse, metaphorically).

149, 150. *spurs . . . gallop*] a common proverb, modified. See *Richard II.* IV. i. 72. And Lodge, *Euphues Golden Legacie* (1590): "The words of Saladyne were but *spurres* to a free horse" (Shakespeare Library, p. 25): *spur* a free horse, he 'll run himself to death" (Ben Jonson, *Tale of a Tub*, III. iv.).

151. *over-blown*] blown over. Compare *Richard II.* III. ii. 190. And Peele's *Tale of Troy* (551, b): "that this fear might soon be *overblown.*" "Let this wind *overblow*" occurs in Heywood's *Proverbs;* see *3 Henry VI.* v. i. 53 (note).

152. *quadrangle*] The earliest example in *New Eng. Dict.*, and only one in Shakespeare.

York. I 'll tell thee, Suffolk, why I am unmeet:
First, for I cannot flatter thee in pride;
Next, if I be appointed for the place,
My Lord of Somerset will keep me here,
Without discharge, money, or furniture,
Till France be won into the Dauphin's hands.
Last time I danced attendance on his will
Till Paris was besieged, famished, and lost.
War. That can I witness; and a fouler fact
Did never traitor in the land commit.
Suf. Peace, headstrong Warwick!
War. Image of pride, why should I hold my peace?

Enter HORNER *the Armourer, and his man* PETER, *guarded.*

Suf. Because here is a man accused of treason:
Pray God the Duke of York excuse himself!
York. Doth any one accuse York for a traitor?
King. What mean'st thou, Suffolk? Tell me, what are these?
Suf. Please it your majesty, this is the man
That doth accuse his master of high treason.
His words were these: that Richard Duke of York
Was rightful heir unto the English crown,
And that your majesty was an usurper.

164, 165. *Yorke. I 'll tell thee . . . flatter thee in pride*] 96, 97 *Yorke. Ile tell thee Suffolke why I am not worthie, Because I cannot flatter as thou canst.* 166-171. *Next . . . lost*] omitted Q. 172, 173. *War. That can I witness . . . commit*] 98, 99. *And yet the worthie deeds that York hath done, should make him worthie to be honoured here.* 175. *Image . . . peace*] 101. *Image of pride, wherefore should I peace?* 176, 177. *Suf. Because . . . himself*] 102-104. *Suf. Because . . . do cleare himselfe Ho, bring hither the Armourer and his man. Enter the Armourer and his man.* 178, 179. *York. . . . traitor? King. . . . these?*] omitted Q. 180-184. *Please it . . . usurper*] 105-108. prose (continued to Suffolk's last speech). *If it please your grace this fellow here, hath accused his master of high Treason, And his . . . That the Duke . . . lawfull . . . the Crowne, and that your grace . . . usurper.*

168. *furniture*] equipment for war; stores and arms. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, xii. 514: "His *furniture* was then a swoord, a target and a lawnce, Æmathian like." Frequent in the general sense in the Chronicles: "And then leauyng sufficient *furniture* for defence in Scotland, he returned into England" (Grafton, i. 308). See *1 Henry IV.* III. iii. 226.

170. *Last time*] See Part I. IV. iii.

170. *danced attendance*] See again *Richard III.* III. vii. 56 and *Henry VIII.* V. ii. 31. Compare Gascoigne, *Steel Glas* (Arber, p. 75): "while suitours daunce attendaunce at the dore." And earlier in North, *Doni's Philosophie* (Jacob's edition, p. 231), 1570.

175. *Image of pride*] type, typical representation of pride. Compare *King Lear*, IV. vi. 162: "the great *image of* authority." The only earlier illustration in *New Eng. Dict.* (from Hall's *Chronicle*) is not good. See Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy:* "the lively *image of* my grief" and "this earth, *image of* my melanchollie."

176. *accused of treason*] For the Armourer incident, see below (extract from Chronicle) at the combat, end of II. iii.

King. Say, man, were these thy words?

Hor. An 't shall please your majesty, I never said nor thought any such matter: God is my witness, I am falsely accused by the villain.

Pet. By these ten bones, my lords, he did speak them to me in the garret one night, as we were scouring my Lord of York's armour.

York. Base dunghill villain, and mechanical,
I 'll have thy head for this thy traitor's speech.
I do beseech your royal majesty
Let him have all the rigour of the law.

Hor. Alas! my lord, hang me if ever I spake the words. My accuser is my prentice; and when I did correct him for his fault the other day, he did vow upon his knees he would be even with me: I have good witness of this: therefore, I beseech your majesty, do not cast away an honest man for a villain's accusation.

185. *Say . . . words*] 111. *Come hether fellow, didst thou speake those words?* 186-188. *Hor. An't . . . said nor thought . . . villain*] 113, 114. *Arm. Ant . . . said . . . villain here.* 189-191. *By these . . . armour*] 115. *Tis no matter for that, you did say so* (for Peter's other words here, see collation at ii. 27-31). 192-195. *Base dunghill villain . . . the law*] 109, 110. *I beseeche your grace let him haue what punishment the law will afford, for his villaney* (and) 116. *I beseech your grace, let him haue the law.* 196-202. *Hor. Alas! my lord . . . knees he would . . . therefore, I beseech . . . accusation*] 117-122. *Arm. Alasse my Lord . . . knees that he would . . . And therefore I beseech . . . accusation.*

189. *By these ten bones*] an ancient adjuration. It occurs in *The Digby Mysteries* (ed. Furnival, p. 4), *circa* 1485: "*by thes bonys ten*"; and in *Hickscorner* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, i. 155), 1520: "Now, *by these bones* she hath beguiled me" (*Thersites* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, i. 429), 1537). "*By these ten bones*" (Roy, *Rede me*, etc. (Arber, p. 71), 1528). And in Greene, *James IV.* III. ii., and in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman's Prize*, *Coxcomb*, and *Monsieur Thomas*. Dekker has "by these two hands" (*Match mee in London*). In Jonson and Davenport. It must have been in common colloquial or provincial use.

190, 191. *scouring . . . armour*] Transferred here from Peter Thump's appearance (Scene iii.) in *Contention*. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, ix. 320-324:—

"And as the serpent slye
In casting of his withered slough, renewes his yeeres thereby
And wexeth lustyer then before, and looketh crisp and bryght
With *scoured* scales."

At the date 1435 (14th year) Speed says: "Each man hereupon (saith Serres) sharpens his sword and *scowres* his Armes, to recover that by force."

192. *dunghill villain*] See note at "*dunghill* groom," Part I. I. iii. 14. Not in Q. "*Dunghill* thoughts" is in Gascoigne, 1576 (Arber, p. 18).

192. *mechanical*] Compare *Merry Wives of Windsor*, II. ii. 290; and see note in Arden edition, page 99. Not in Q.

195. *rigour of the law*] "law" only in Q. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, v. iii. 269: "*rigour of severest law*"; and *Winter's Tale*, III. ii. 115: "'tis *rigour* and not *law*"; an expression which Shakespeare took from his original, Greene's *Pandosto* (Grosart, iv. 256): "if she were condemned without any further proofe, it was *rigour* and not *Law*."

201. *cast away*] ruin, destroy. Frequent in Shakespeare, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 682.

King. Uncle, what shall we say to this in law?
Glou. This doom, my lord, if I may judge:
Let Somerset be regent o'er the French,
Because in York this breeds suspicion;
And let these have a day appointed them
For single combat in convenient place;
For he hath witness of his servant's malice.
This is the law, and this Duke Humphrey's doom.
Som. I humbly thank your royal majesty.
Hor. And I accept the combat willingly.
Pet. Alas! my lord, I cannot fight; for God's sake! pity my case; the spite of man prevaileth against me. O Lord! have mercy upon me; I shall never be able to fight a blow. O Lord! my heart.
Glou. Sirrah, or you must fight or else be hanged.
King. Away with them to prison; and the day

203. *Uncle . . . law*] 123. *Vnckle Gloster, what do you thinke of this?* 207-210. *And let . . . Humphrey's doom*] 124-126. *The law my Lord is this by case, it rests suspitious, That a day of combat be appointed, And there to trie each others right or wrong* (continued at 218-220). 204-206. *This doom . . . suspicion*] 153-157. *My gratious Lord, then this is my resolue, For that these words the Armourer should speake Doth breed suspition on the part of Yorke, Let Somerset be Regent ouer the French, Till trials made, and Yorke may cleare himselfe.* 211. *Som. Thank . . . majesty*] 158-165. *King. Then be it so my Lord of Somerset. We make your grace Regent over the French, And to defend our rights gainst forraine foes, And so do good vnto the Realme of France. Make haste my Lord, tis time that you were gone, The time of Truse I thinke is full expirde. Somerset. I humbly . . . majesty, And take my leaue to poste with speed to France. Exet Somerset.* 212. *Hor. And . . . willingly*] 130. *And . . . willingly.* 213-216. *Alas! my lord . . . my heart*] 131. *Alasse my Lord, I am not able to fight.* 217. *Glou. Sirrah . . . hang'd*] 132, 133. *Suffolke. You must either fight sirra or else be hangde: Go take them hence againe to prison. Exet with them.* 218. *King. Away . . . prison*] (see Suffolk's last speech): *and the day . . . next month*] (Humphrey's speech at 207-210 continued) *Which shall be on the thirtieth of this month, With Eben staves, and standbaggs combatting In Smythfield, before your Royall Majestie. Exet Humphrey.*

205. *Let Somerset be regent*] In the XXIIII Yere: "The Kyng called his high court of Parliament . . . and the *Duke of Somerset was appoynted Regent* of Normandy, and the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged" (Hall, p. 206). See III. i. 83.

210, 211. Theobald, followed by Steevens (1793), inserted between these two lines the two (158, 159) from the *Contention*, wherein the King gives Somerset the appointment. Malone says that this speech "was not intended to be preserved, appears from the concluding line of the present scene in which Henry addresses Somerset; whereas in the Quarto Somerset *goes out* on his appointment." He gives this as evidence that this play, "however afterwards worked up by Shakespeare," was the work of another author originally, and that the Quarto was printed from that author's copy. It certainly is evidence, though not very weighty, in that direction. He (Malone) was arguing against Steevens, who thought the *Contention* might be "an imperfect surreptitious copy of Shakespeare's play," obtained piecemeal from players' or other transcripts. See below, III. i. 292, in note.

217-220. For "Eben staves and standbagges" in the *Contention* here, see below, II. iii. 58, 59.

Of combat shall be the last of the next month.
Come, Somerset, we 'll see thee sent away. 220
[*Flourish. Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.—GLOUCESTER'S *Garden.*

Enter MARGERY JOURDAIN, HUME, SOUTHWELL, *and* BOLINGBROKE.

Hume. Come, my masters; the duchess, I tell you, expects performance of your promises.
Boling. Master Hume, we are therefore provided. Will her ladyship behold and hear our exorcisms?
Hume. Ay; what else? fear you not her courage. 5

220. *Come . . . away*] (see two last lines of King's speech at 211. King's speech in Q reads at this close) 165-168. *Come vnckle Gloster, now let 's haue our horse, For we will to Saint Albones presently, Madame, your Hawke they say, is swift of flight, And we will trie how she will flie to day. Exet omnes.*

SCENE IV.

SCENE IV. . . . 1-12. *Come . . . to our work*] omitted Q (see below, line 13).

SCENE IV.

Enter Margery Iourdain . . .] Grafton's account (from Hall) is as follows (XXth Yere): "Divers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season, agaynst the noble Duke Humfrey. . . . For first this yere, Dame Elyanour Cobham, wyfe to the sayde Duke was accused of treason, for that she by sorcerie and enchaunment entended to destroy the King, to the entent to aduaunce and promote her husbande to the crowne: upon thys she was examined in Saint Stephens Chapell, before the Bishop of Canterbury, and there by examination conuict and judged to doe open penaunce, in three open places, within the Citie of London, and after that adiudged to perpetuall prison in the Isle of Man, vnder the keeping of Sir Iohn Stanley knight. At the same season were arrested as ayders and counsaylers to the sayde Duches, Thomas Southwell priest and Chanon of saint Stephens in Westminster, Iohn Hum priest, Roger Bolyngbroke, a cunning Nigromancier, and Margery Iourdayne, surnamed the Witch of Eye, to whose charge it was layde, that they at the request of the Duches, had deuised an Image of waxe, representing the King, which by their sorcery, a little and little consumed entendyng thereby in conclusion to wast, and destroy the kings person, and so bring him to death, for the which treason, they were adiudged to dye, and so Margery Iordayne was brent in Smithfield, and Roger Bolyngbroke was drawen and quartered at Tyborne, taking upon his death, that there was neuer any such thing by them imagined, Iohn Hum had his pardon, and Southwell died in the towre before execution: the Duke of Gloucester toke all things paciently and sayde little" (i. p. 622, 1441-1442). Southwell does not appear in the *Contention*, but in all the Chronicles. Stowe has not Hum, or Hume, but he agrees with Shakespeare and the *Contention* in rejecting the waxen image. See note at the end of Act ii.

4. *exorcisms*] Improperly used here of a conjuration for *raising* spirits. The same remark applies to *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 276; *All's Well that Ends Well*, v. iii. 305; and *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 323. *New Eng. Dict.* has a reference to Lydgate for a similar use of exorcism. Correctly used by Greene, *A Looking Glasse for London* (xiv. 62). Not in Q.

5. *what else?*] a strong affirmation —certainly. See *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 29. Very commonly used by Jonson. See Lyly's *Midas*: "But canst thou blow it? *H. What else?*" And *A Warning for Faire Women*: "Must I go to Greenwich,

Boling. I have heard her reported to be a woman of an invincible spirit: but it shall be convenient, Master Hume, that you be by her aloft while we be busy below; and so, I pray you, go, in God's name, and leave us. [*Exit Hume.*] Mother Jourdain, be you prostrate, and grovel on the earth; John Southwell, read you; and let us to our work.

Enter DUCHESS *aloft*, HUME *following*.

Duch. Well said, my masters, and welcome all. To this gear, the sooner the better.

Boling. Patience, good lady; wizards know their times:

11. *prostrate . . . earth* (transferred to Witches' speech (9-13)). 12. *Enter Duchess . . .*] Cambridge; *Enter Elianor aloft* Ff; *Enter Elenor, with Sir Iohn Hum, Koger* (Roger, Q 3), *Bullenbrooke a Coniurer and Margery Iourdaine a Witch.* 13, 14. *Duch. Well said . . . the better*] 1-13. *Elnor. Here Sir Iohn, take this scrole of paper here, Wherein is writ the questions you shall aske, And I will stand upon this Tower here, And here the spirit what it saies to you, And to my questions, write the answeres downe. She goes vp to the Tower. Sir Iohn. Now sirs begin and cast your spels about, And charm the fiendes for to obey your wils, And tel Dame Elnor of the thing she askes. Witch. Then Roger Roger Bullenbrooke about thy taske, And frame a Cirkle here upon the earth, Whilst I thereon all prostrate on my face, Do talke and whisper with the diuels below, And coniure them for to obey my will. She lies downe upon her face. Bullenbrooke makes a Cirkle.* 15-22. *Boling. Patience . . . verge*] 14-20. *Bullen. Darke Night, dread Night, the silence of the Night, Wherein the Furies maske in hellish troupes, Send up I charge you from Sosetus lake, The spirit Askalon to come to me, To pierce the bowels of this Centricke earth, And*

sir? *Barnes. What else?* And Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, III. xiv. 164 (Boas edition).

7. *invincible spirit*] Compare *1 Henry VI.* IV. ii. 32.

11. *grovel on the earth*] "Grovel on thy face" is found above, figuratively (ii. 9); but the expression is not in Shakespeare again.

13. *Well said*] Well done. Frequently so used by Shakespeare, irrelatively of any conversation. Compare Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (453, b): "*Well said*, thou pliest these pioners well." And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. v. 1 (69, b), where Dyce noted this sense.

14. *To this gear*] let us get on with the business in hand. Compare *Richard III.* I. iv. 158, and *Titus Andronicus*, IV. iii. 52. And in (Peele's) *Jack Straw*: "let us roundly *to this gear*. 'Tis more than time that we were gone" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 383). And several times in *The Spanish Tragedy*. And in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. ii. 1.

15-20. Bolingbroke's speech in the *Contention* (14-20) bears evidence of Marlowe's hand at this point. He has "Ye Furies that can mask invisible" in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. IV. iv. (Dyce, 29, a); and "Furies from the black Cocytus' lake" (*ibid.* v. i., 34, a); and "the island where the Furies mask" (*Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. ii., 54, b); and "Infernal Dis is courting of my love Inventing masks" (*ibid.* IV. ii., 64, b). Dis is in Bolingbroke's next speech but one, a name for Pluto. Again, "The substance of this centrick earth" is a line in Marlowe's *Faustus*, vi. (*circa* 1590), and is the earliest example of the word in *New Eng. Dict.* But although Marlowe undoubtedly wrote, or dressed, this scene in the *Contention*, it is obvious that Shakespeare eliminated his peculiarities carefully. See note at I. iii. 49 and 79. For Ditis (nigrantis regia Ditis) and Styx together, see Albanact's dying speech (in Latin) in *Locrine*, II. v. See on Marlowe again at III. i. 282. See *Faerie Queene*, I. i. 37-39.

Deep night, dark night, the silent of the night,
The time of night when Troy was set on fire;
The time when screech-owls cry, and ban-dogs howl,
And spirits walk, and ghosts break up their graves,
That time best fits the work we have in hand.
Madam, sit you, and fear not: whom we raise
We will make fast within a hallowed verge.

[*Here they do the ceremonies belonging, and make the circle; Bolingbroke or Southwell reads,* Conjuro te, etc. *It thunders and lightens terribly; then the Spirit riseth.*

Spir. Adsum.

M. Jourd. Asmath!
By the eternal God, whose name and power

hither come in twinkling of an eye, Askalon, Assenda, Assenda. It thunders and lightens, and then the spirit riseth vp. 23-27. *Spir. Adsum. M. Jourd. Asmath! . . . hence*] omitted Q.

16. *Deep night*] Compare "deep of night" (*Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Julius Cæsar*), and "deep midnight" (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. i. 223). "Silent night" occurs in *Faerie Queene*, III. iii. 61, and in *Visions of the World's Vanitie*. Also in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, I. i.

16. *silent of the night*] may be a mere slip for "silence of the night" which we have twice in Q (I. ii. 65, I. iii. 14). Peele has the expression in *The Battle of Alcazar*, II. i.: "Nor may the *silence of the speechless night*, (Dire) architect of murders and misdeeds" (Dyce, 425, a). And in *Selimus* (Grosart's Green, xiv. 278): "in the quiet *silence of the night* . . . ere the windows of the morne be ope" (partly by Peele).

17. *The time of night*] Compare *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 386; *Hamlet*, III. ii. 406, and I. i. 46.

17. *The time of night when Troy*] Compare Peele's *Tale of Troy*, 1589 (557, b):—

"It was the time when midnight's sleep and rest
With quiet pause the town of Troy possess'd . . .
Now Troy, as was foretold, began to burn."

18, 19. *screech-owls cry, and ban-dogs howl, And spirits walk*] Shakespeare had Golding's *Ovid* in his mind here. See note to "Julius Cæsar's star," Part I. I. i. 60. Golding has (xv. 887-895):—

"The moone had also spottes of blood. The *screech-owle* sent from hell
Did with her tune unfortunate in every corner yell . . .
The *doggs did howle*, and everywhere appeered ghastly *spryghts*."

"Screech-owls" appears again below, III. ii. 327, and elsewhere; the "ban-dog" is here only. In another place in Golding (bk. v.) the "sluggish *screeching owl*" is termed a "filthy fowl." In *Thersites* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, i. 399) Cerberus is called the "bandog". Sometimes it was "banddogge" in early writers; one tied on account of his ferocity. See King Henry's last speech in Part III. v. vi. 44-46.

19. *break up their graves*] Occurs again *Henry V.* IV. i. 22.

22. *verge*] border, circle.

22, 23. *It thunders and lightens . . . Adsum*] This machinery is like Peele's in *the Old Wives Tale* (Sacrapant is a magician): "Re-enter Sacrapant: *It lightens and thunders:* thy second Brother falls down . . . Sacrapant . . . Adeste, dæmones! Enter Two Furies" (450, b). "*It thunders and lightens*" again at p. 454, b.

24. *Asmath*] Probably "Asmenoth, guider of the North," in Greene's *Frier Bacon*. See note at "monarch of the north," Part I. v. iii. 6.

Thou tremblest at, answer that I shall ask;
For till thou speak thou shalt not pass from hence.
Spir. Ask what thou wilt. That I had said and done!
Boling. "First, of the king: what shall of him become?"
[*Reading out of a paper.*
Spir. The duke yet lives that Henry shall depose;
But him outlive, and die a violent death.
[*As the Spirit speaks, Southwell writes the answer.*
Boling. "What fates await the Duke of Suffolk?"
Spir. By water shall he die and take his end.
Boling. "What shall befall the Duke of Somerset?"
Spir. Let him shun castles:
Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains
Than where castles mounted stand.
Have done, for more I hardly can endure.
Boling. Descend to darkness and the burning lake:
False fiend, avoid!
[*Thunder and lightning. Exit Spirit.*

28. *Spir. Ask . . . done!*] 21. *Now Bullenbrooke what would'st thou have me do?* 29. *Boling.* (Bullen always in Q) *First . . . of him become?*] 22. *First . . . become of him?* 30, 31. *The . . . depose; . . . death*] 23, 24. *The . . . depose . . . death.* 31. [*As the spirit . . .*] omitted Q. 32. *fates*] 25. *fate.* 34. *befall*] 27. *betide.* 35-38. *Let him . . . can endure*] 28-30 (prose). *Let him . . . stand. Now question me no more, for I must hence againe. He sinkes downe againe.* 39, 40. *Descend . . . avoid!*] 31-37. *Then downe I say, unto the damned poule, where Pluto in his firie Waggon sits, Ryding amidst the singde and parched smoakes, The Rode of Dytas by the Riuer Stykes, There howle and burne for ever in those flames, Rise Iordaine rise and staie thy charming spels. Sonnes, we are betraide. Enter the Duke of Yorke, and the Duke of Buckingham and others.*

28. *That I had said and done!*] Steevens says here, that spirits who remained above ground, answered questions with reluctance. Malone refers to "Dismiss me, enough!" (*Macbeth*, IV. i. 72).

29. *Bolingbroke*] Shakespeare follows the *Contention* in giving Bolingbroke the reading of the questions, forgetting that he has said (l. 11): "Southwell, read you." That is to say, he forgets his own alterations, for there is no Southwell in Q.

34, 35. *Somerset . . . Let him shun castles*] See v. ii. 69 (note).

36. *sandy plains*] An expression of Peele's in *The Battle of Alcazar* (at the end): "The fields and *sandy plains* we have survey'd." Every little helps! And in his *Anglorum Feriæ:* "Over the wild and *sandy* Afric *plains*." And see quotation at "hive of bees," III. ii. 125 (note). Fleay makes this expression a test of Peele's writings.

38. *I hardly can endure*] See note at l. 28 above. The Quarto has "I must hence again." See *Hamlet*, I. v. 4-7. In Peele's *Sir Clyomon* (521, a) the angel "Providence" says similarly to Neronis: "Let desperation die in thee, I may not here remain . . . [*Ascends*]."

39. *the burning lake*] This is a piece of Marlovian rant that escaped the reviser; see note at ll. 15-20 above. It occurs again in *Titus Andronicus*, IV. iii. 43. Pistol takes it in hand in *2 Henry IV.* II. iv. 170 ("to Plutos damned lake, by this hand"). It has the *Tamburlaine* taint. In Part II. occurs "the burning gulf," "the lake of hell," etc. etc. The *Contention* has "damned poule" here. Kyd has "the lake where hell doth stand," and the "firie lakes," in *Spanish Tragedie*. Perhaps he set the example.

Enter YORK *and* BUCKINGHAM, *hastily, with their guard.*

York. Lay hands upon these traitors and their trash.
Beldam, I think we watched you at an inch.
What! madam, are you there? the king and commonweal
Are deeply indebted for this piece of pains:
My lord protector will, I doubt it not,
See you well guerdoned for these good deserts.
Duch. Not half so bad as thine to England's king,
Injurious duke, that threatest where 's no cause.
Buck. True, madam, none at all. What call you this?
Away with them! let them be clapped up close,
And kept asunder. You, madam, shall with us:
Stafford, take her to thee.
[*Exeunt above Duchess and Hume, guarded.*
We 'll see your trinkets here all forthcoming.
All, away!
[*Exeunt guard, with Southwell, Bolingbroke, etc.*

41-46. *York. Lay hands . . . good deserts*] 38-42. *Yorke. Come sirs, laie hands on them, and bind them sure, This time was well watch'd. What Madame are you there? This will be great credit for your husband, That you are plotting Treasons thus with Cuniurers, The King shall have notice of this thing. Exet Elnor above.* 47, 48. *Duch. Not . . . cause*] omitted Q. 49-54. *Buck. True . . . away!*] 43. *Bucking. See here my Lord what the diuell hath writ.*

42. *Beldam*] old woman, hag. See again *King John*, IV. ii. 185, and *Macbeth*, III. v. 2.

42. *at an inch*] closely, at close quarters. So in Laneham's *Letter* (Burn's reprint, p. 88), 1575: "if the Council sit I am at hand: wait *at an inch* I warrant you." See also *Marriage of Wit and Science* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, ii. 338, 365), 1570; and Greene, *Third Part of Conny Catching* (Grosart, x. 180): "The rest following the gentleman *at an inch*" (where Grosart volunteers the characteristic remark, "usually at inches"). Greene has it again in *Frier Bacon*, quoted by Craig, who also quotes the *Marriage of Wit and Science* passages. Not in Q, and not in Shakespeare.

46. *guerdoned*] rewarded. As a verb, again, only in *3 Henry VI.* III. iii. 191. But common.

50. *clapped up close*] shut up, or imprisoned, closely. From the clapping of the door, as in *1 Henry IV.* II. iv. 305. See Greene's *Alphonsus* (Grosart, xiii. 402):—

"But call to mind that thou a prisoner art,
Clapt up in chaines";

and p. 404: "Now I lie *Clapt up* in Irons and with bolts of steele." Schmidt's lumping together of all the "clap up's" in Shakespeare is quite indigestible.

53. *trinkets*] trifles of any sort, but usually of wearing articles, ornaments and suchlike. Pentacles and conjuring garb, as well as the writings, may be included. "Triviall *trinkets* and threedbare trash" (in writing) occurs in one of the "Conny Catching" tracts attributed to Greene (Grosart, xi. 49).

53. *see . . . forthcoming*] A proper legal term of any person or thing given into one's charge. See below, II. i. 179; and *Taming of the Shrew*, v. i. 96. "I will give my word hee shall be *foorth comming* to-morrow morning" (Greene, *Hee and Shee Conny Catcher*, Grosart, x. 220). "I will take a course to see you *forthcoming*" (Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (Harl. Misc. v. 124), 1641). "Bounde to keepe him *forthcoming*" (Miles Philips in Hakluyt, iii. 568 (reprint 1811), 1582). See below, II. i. 177 for another example. Not in Q.

York. Lord Buckingham, methinks you watched her well:
A pretty plot, well chosen to build upon!
Now, pray, my lord, let 's see the devil's writ.
What have we here?
"The duke yet lives that Henry shall depose;
But him outlive, and die a violent death."
Why, this is just
"Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse."
Well, to the rest:
"Tell me what fate awaits the Duke of Suffolk?
By water shall he die and take his end.
What shall betide the Duke of Somerset?
Let him shun castles:
Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains
Than where castles mounted stand."
Come, come, my lords; these oracles
Are hardly attained, and hardly understood.
The king is now in progress towards Saint Alban's;
With him the husband of this lovely lady:
Thither go these news as fast as horse can carry them:

55-58. *York. Lord Buckingham . . . here?*] 44, 45. *Yorke. Give it me my Lord, Ile show it to the King. Go sirs see them fast lockt in prison. Exet with them.* 59-75. *The duke yet lives . . . lord protector*] omitted Q.

62. *Aio te . . . posse*] The ambiguous answer the Pythian Apollo gave Pyrrhus (according to the *Annals* of Ennius) when he inquired whether he would vanquish Rome (Cicero, *De Divin.* ii. 56). It may mean either "I affirm that thou, descendant of Æacus, mayest conquer the Romans," or "I affirm that the Romans may vanquish thee, descendant of Æacus" (Craig). Puttenham deals with this subject (*Arte of English Poesie*, Arber, p. 267, 1586-89) under the heading of *Amphibologia*, or the Ambiguous: "these doubtfull speaches were vsed much in the old times by their false Prophets as appeareth by the Oracles of Delphos and of the Sybilles prophecies deuised by the religious persons of those days to abuse the superstitious . . . Lucianus, the merry Greeke, reciteth a great number of them devised by a coosening companion, one Alexander, to get himselfe the name and reputation of the God Æsculapius, and in effect all our old Brittish and Saxon prophesies be of the same sort, that, turne them on which side ye will, the matter of them may be verified . . . by the comfort of those blinde prophecies many insurrections and rebellions have bene stirred up in this Realme, as that of Iacke Strawe and Iacke Cade in Richard the seconds time." This passage from Puttenham sums up the position in such a remarkable way that one feels it is more than a coincidence. I have endeavoured to show in *Love's Labour 's Lost* that Puttenham was a favourite with Shakespeare. With regard to these blind prophecies of the Chroniclers, sneered at by the later ones (like Grafton in several places), no contemporary of Shakespeare seems more at home amongst them than Peele. See his *Edward the First* and his *Old Wives Tale*. For further examples of "Sibillaes goulden prophesies" forward and backward thus the same, with double sense, see Lyly's *Woman in the Moone*, III. i. (*circa* 1580). And see Marlowe's *Edward the Second* (Dyce, 217, b): "Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est." With reference to Puttenham, see a quotation from him in Part I. I. vi. 27.

68. *sandy plains*] See note above, l. 39.

A sorry breakfast for my lord protector.
Buck. Your grace shall give me leave, my Lord of York,
To be the post, in hope of his reward.
York. At your pleasure, my good lord. Who's within there, ho!

Enter a Servingman.

Invite my Lords of Salisbury and Warwick
To sup with me to-morrow night. Away!
[*Exeunt.*

76, 77. *Buck. Your grace . . . reward*] 46, 47. *Bucking. My lord, I pray you let me go post vnto the King Vnto S. Albones, to tell this newes.* 78-80. *York. At your . . . Away !*] 48-54. *Yorke. Content, Away then, about it straight. Buck. Farewell, my lord. Exet Buckingham. Yorke. Whose within there ? Enter one. One. My lord. Yorke. Sirrha, Go will the Earles of Salsbury and Warwicke, to sup with me tonight. Exet Yorke. One. I will my lord. Exet.*

75. *A sorry breakfast*] Shakespeare does not give us another example of this figure of speech, which sounds provincial. But it occurs in Peele:—

"By Gis, fair lords, ere many days be past,
England shall give this Robin Hood his *breakfast*"

(*Edward I.*, Dyce, 398, a). And again: "Ah, gentle Richard, many a hot *breakfast* have we been at together!" (*ibid.*, 407, a). Not in Q.

79, 80. *Invite . . . to sup*] Q has "will the Earles . . . to sup," which is paralleled in *Henry V.* II. iv. 77, and *Titus Andronicus*, v. i. 160.

ACT II

SCENE I.—*Saint Alban's.*

Enter the KING, QUEEN, GLOUCESTER, *Cardinal, and* SUFFOLK, *with Falconers halloing.*

Queen. Believe me, lords, for flying at the brook,
I saw not better sport these seven years' day:
Yet, by your leave, the wind was very high,
And, ten to one, old Joan had not gone out.
King. But what a point, my lord, your falcon made,

Enter the King and Queene with her Hawke on her fist, and Duke Humphrey and Suffolke, and the Cardinall, as if they came from hawking. 1-4. *Queen. Believe me . . . gone out*] 1-3. *Queene. My lord how did your grace like this last flight? But as I cast her off the winde did rise, And 'twas ten . . . gone out.* 5-8. *King. But what . . . climbing high*] 4-7. *King. How wonderfull the Lords workes are on earth, Euen in these silly creatures of his hands, Vnckle*

with Falconers] We have had notice of this hunting scene at I. ii. 56-58; and it has a semi-historical basis. In the XXXVIJ Yere Grafton writes: "Queene Margaret, whose breath ruled . . . caused the king to make a progresse into Warwickeshire, for hys health and recreation, and so with Hawking and hunting, came to the Citie of Couentrey, where were diuers wayes studied priuely . . . her hartes ease and long desired purpose: which was the death and destruction of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Salisburie and Warwick . . . they auoyded this net and narrowly escaped the snare" (p. 657). These three peers were the last referred to in the previous scene, and though they escape this snare, which serves another purpose and place, the queen's hawking holds good.

1. *at the brook*] See my note to "we 'll a-birding together," *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. iii. 246 (Arden edition, pp. 142, 143). Hawking at the river or brook was the true royal sport of falconry; mallards, herons, etc., being the quarry. Craig gives a quotation from Drayton's *Polyalbion*, Song xx. Chaucer, in *Sir Thopas*, tells that the goshawk was expressly for the river. James I. delighted in it to the end of his days. "The king looked abroad in his litter, to see some flights *at the brook*" (*Court and Times of James I.*, Letter dated Jan. 8, 1624-5).

2. *these seven years' day*] This expression occurs in Heywood's *Proverbs* (edited by Sharman, p. 124), 1546; and see note at "This seven year," Part I. IV. iii. 37. Lyly has "at every five yeeres day" in *Gallathea*, I. i. (Fairholt, p. 221). Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw:* "Myself was not so scared *this seven years*" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 396).

4. *gone out*] taken her flight. Scarcely a necessary remark, but Johnson suggested that the meaning was "flown quite away," making a question where none exists. It is even more obvious in Q.

4-7. The *Contention* here contains the hawking term "soused." Shakespeare has a good show of hawking language; see *King John*, V. ii. 150.

5. *point . . . falcon made*] gained

And what a pitch she flew above the rest!
To see how God in all his creatures works!
Yea, man and birds are fain of climbing high.
Suf. No marvel, an it like your majesty,
My lord protector's hawks do tower so well;
They know their master loves to be aloft,
And bears his thoughts above his falcon's pitch.
Glou. My lord, 'tis but a base ignoble mind
That mounts no higher than a bird can soar.
Car. I thought as much; he'd be above the clouds.
Glou. Ay, my lord cardinal? how think you by that?
Were it not good your grace could fly to heaven?
King. The treasury of everlasting joy.
Car. Thy heaven is on earth; thine eyes and thoughts

Gloster, how hie your Hawke did sore? And on a sodaine soust the Partridge doune. 9-12. *No marvel . . . falcons pitch*] 8-10. *No maruell if it please . . . done toure . . . He knowes his . . . aloft.* 13, 14. *Glou. My lord . . . soar*] 11, 12. *Humphrey. Faith my Lord, it is but a base minde That can sore no higher then a Falkons pitch.* 15. *I . . . clouds*] 13. *I . . . your grace would be . . . cloudes.* 16, 17. *Ay . . . that? Were . . . heaven?*] 14, 15. *I . . . heaven* (omitting *how . . . that?*). 18. *King. . . .*] omitted Q. 19-22. *Thy . . . thine eyes . . . pernicious . . . That smooth'st it so . . .*

a secure position to windward, from whence she could wait the fowl. "The Lanner never lieth upon the Wing after she hath flown to Mark, but after once stooping she maketh a *Point*, and then, like the Goshawk, waits the Fowl. . . . They are excellent Hawks for the River, lying long upon the Wing, and will fly the Field also very well" (Nicholas Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation*, pp. 180-181, ed. 1721). Seems to be an uncommon expression, judging from the editor's notes to it. I have not found it elsewhere. Schmidt and Harting are wide of the mark. It is to be noticed that the flight is not at the brook in Q; it is a partridge that is soused at. The alteration is very proper, since partridges did not require high-flying hawks.

6. *pitch*] The recognised expression for the falcon's height, especially extremest height, of flight. See note at Part I. II. iv. 11. And figuratively in *Julius Cæsar*, I. i. 78; and compare line 12. Compare too Brewer's *Lingua*, v. 16:—

"And by the lofty towering of their minds,
Fledged with the feathers of a learned muse
They raise themselves unto the highest *pitch*."

10. *tower*] soar, fly high. Hawking language also. See *Macbeth*, II. iv. 12, and *Lucrece*, 506. It occurs in Golding's *Ovid*, bk. xii. ll. 581, 582: "For he did see a broune Bird flying from amid the stacke and *towring* up and downe"; and again, ll. 624, 625:—

"hee *towring* lay
Among the cloudes."

Note the archaism *done* (*doen*, they do) in Q 1. Spenser uses it.

14. *mounts . . . soar*] Compare *Richard II.* I. i. 109, "How high a pitch his resolution *soars*," with the *Contention* (line 12) here.

15. *above the clouds*] See *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. v. 74: "*Above the clouds*, as high as heaven itself."

16. *how think you by that?*] what mean you by that? What does that import you to be thinking of.

18. *treasury of . . . joy*] Compare Spenser's *Astrophel* (1588), stanza 27:—

"And her faire brest, the *threasury of joy*,
She spoyld thereof and filled with annoy."

18. *everlasting joy*] Omitted in the *Contention*, where Henry's holiness is not insisted upon as it is here. See the development at I. iii. 54-64. And see below, ll. 66, 67, and elsewhere.

Beat on a crown, the treasure of thy heart;
Pernicious protector, dangerous peer,
That smooth'st it so with king and commonweal!
Glou. What! cardinal, is your priesthood grown peremptory?
Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?
Churchmen so hot? good uncle, hide such malice;
With such holiness can you do it?
Suf. No malice, sir; no more than well becomes
So good a quarrel and so bad a peer.
Glou. As who, my lord?
Suf. Why, as you, my lord;
An 't like your lordly lord-protectorship.
Glou. Why, Suffolk, England knows thine insolence.
Queen. And thy ambition, Gloucester.
King. I prithee, peace,
Good queen, and whet not on these furious peers;
For blessed are the peacemakers on earth.
Car. Let me be blessed for the peace I make
Against this proud protector with my sword.

commonweal] 16-18 (prose). *Thy . . . thy words . . . proude . . . to smooth it thus . . . commonwealth.* 23-26. *What! . . . do it*] 19, 20. *How now my Lord, why this is more than needs, Churchmen so hote. Good vnckle can you doate.* 27, 28. *No malice . . . peer*] 21. *Why not Hauing so good a quarrell & so bad a cause.* 29, 30. *As who . . . Why as you . . . An't . . . lord-protectorship*] 22-24. *As how . . . As you . . . And it . . . Lords Protectorship.* 31. *thine*] 25. *thy.* 32-34. *And . . . I prithee, peace, Good queen . . . furious peers For . . . earth*] 26-29 (prose). *And . . . cease gentle Queene . . . furious Lordes to wrath, for . . . earth.* 35, 36. *Let me . . . sword*] 30, 31. *Let me . . . sword.*

20. *Beat on a crown*] hammer, or ponder upon (Schmidt). So the sun's rays beat upon a thing. See *The Tempest*, v. i. 246. See Steevens' excellent note and parallels, to the confusion of Johnson's suggested falcon sense. Compare Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. i. (33, a):—

"And every warrior that is rapt with love
Of fame, of valour, and of victory,
Must needs have beauty *beat on* his conceits."

And see Marlowe, *Edward II.* (Dyce, 192, a).

22. *smooth'st it*] flatters it. See I. i. 156 above, and *Richard III.* I. iii. 48.

24. *Tantæne . . . iræ*] Virgil, *Æneid*, i. 11. Peele quotes this in *Speeches to the Queen at Theobald's*, 1591. See also *Speeches to the Queen at Sudeley* (Nichols (1592), iii. 137).

26. *With . . . do it*] This line is held to be corrupt, and many emendations have been proposed. It may mean simply "can you behave so, in the presence of such holiness" (as the King's)? Staunton and others would read "dote," from the *Contention*, where the word is certainly an interesting misprint.

30. *lordly*] A favourite word, as already noted at "lorldly sir" (Part I. III. i. 43), with Greene; but only used in *Lucrece* and *1* and *2 Henry VI.* in Shakespeare. Peele uses it in a stilted fashion: "my *lordly* breast" (*Battle of Alcazar*, II. ii., Dyce, 427, b). And see note, Part I. III. i. 43; also note above at I. i. 40.

30. *protectorship*] See again below, III. i. 60; III. i. 21. Only in this play. Compare "regentship," I. iii. 103, which is also peculiar to this play. Both from the *Contention*. Similarly we have "attorneyship" in Part I. v. v. 56, and not elsewhere. The formation is much older. "Portership" (as an office) is quoted for *circa* 1450, *New Eng. Dict.*

Glou. [*Aside to Car.*] Faith, holy uncle, would 'twere come to that!

Car. [*Aside to Glou.*] Marry, when thou darest.

Glou. [*Aside to Car.*] Make up no factious numbers for the matter;
In thine own person answer thy abuse.

Car. [*Aside to Glou.*] Ay, where thou dar'st not peep: an if thou dar'st,
This evening on the east side of the grove.

King. How now, my lords!

Car. Believe me, cousin Gloucester,
Had not your man put up the fowl so suddenly,
We had had more sport. [*Aside to Glou.*] Come with thy two-hand sword.

Glou. True, uncle.

Car. [*Aside to Glou.*] Are ye advised? the east side of the grove.

37. *would 'twere*] 32. *I would it were.* 38. *Marry*] 33. *Even.* 39, 40. *Make . . . numbers . . . abuse*] 40, 41 (transferred). *Make . . . numbers, but even in thine own person meete me at the East end of the groue* (prose). 41, 42. *Ay, where . . . grove*] 33-39. *Even when thou darest. Humphrey. Dare, I tell thee Priest, Plantagenets could neuer brooke the dare. Card. I am Plantagenet as well as thou, and sonne to Iohn of Gaunt. Hump. In Bastardie. Cardin. I scorne thy words.* 43. *How . . . my lords!*] 43. *Why, how now, Lords?* 43-45. *Believe me . . . sword*] 44-46. *Faith, Cousin Gloster, had not your man cast off so soone, we had had more sport to-day. Come with thy swoord and buckler* (prose). 46.] omitted Q. 47. *Are ye . . . grove*] 42. *Heres my hand, I will.*

39. *factious*] joining in the quarrel, partisan. See *Richard III.* I. iii. 128 and II. i. 20. Different from the usual sense, rebellious.

44. *put up the fowl*] sprung, sprung up, flown, raised or started (the game) are the usual words at this date, and I have no example of so early a use as this of our common expression. Schmidt says it means put the hawk up (in a bag?) and take him away! Which is terrible. The *Contention* has the normal hawking phrase "cast off," for beginning the sport, viewed from another standpoint. The alteration is due to the transference of the pastime from field to river, probably—but it is not easy to say why. "Fowl" is always prey or game in this connection. See *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 92; Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (Dyce, 484, a), etc. etc.

45. *two-hand sword*] Not found again in Shakespeare; "sword and buckler" in Quarto. In the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Quarto), at II. i. 131, "*two-hand sword*" is changed into "*long sword*" in the received version (II. i. 232). It was out of use probably, and hung up over fire-places or in halls. Nashe speaks of its rust in *Foure Letters Confuted*: "Flourishing about my lares with his *two hande sworde* of Oratory and Poetry, peradventure shakes some of the rust of it on my shoulders" (Grosart, ii. 186), 1592-1593. Peele brings it in ludicrously in the *Old Wives Tale* (Dyce, 448, b), 1595: "Enter Huanebango with his *two-hand sword*, and Corebus" (and several times in the play); while in Jonson's *Epicene*, IV. ii., it is spoken of as a curiosity (1609): "He has got some body's old *two-hand sword*, to mow you off at the knees . . . he is so hung with pikes, halberds, petronels, calivers, and muskets, that he looks like a justice-of-peace's hall." N. Breton compares the tongue to a two-hand sword (*Pasquils Fooles-cap*), from the two-edged sword of the Bible. The sword and buckler of the Quarto was not dignified enough for these grim sirs; at this date it was becoming vulgar. Often in Peele's play.

47. *Are ye advised*] See "are you avised," *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I.

Glou. [*Aside to Car.*] Cardinal, I am with you.
King. Why, how now, uncle Gloucester!
Glou. Talking of hawking; nothing else, my lord.
[*Aside to Car.*] Now, by God's mother, priest, I'll shave your crown
For this, or all my fence shall fail.
Car. [*Aside to Glou.*] *Medice, teipsum*——
Protector, see to't well, protect yourself.
King. The winds grow high; so do your stomachs, lords.
How irksome is this music to my heart!
When such strings jar, what hope of harmony?
I pray, my lords, let me compound this strife.

Enter One, crying "A miracle!"

Glou. What means this noise?
Fellow, what miracle dost thou proclaim?
One. A miracle! a miracle!

49, 50. *King. . . . uncle Gloucester. Glou. Talking of hawking . . .*] omitted Q. 51, 52. *Now by . . . fail*] 47. *Faith priest, Ile shave your crowne.* 53, 54. *Medice . . . yourself*] 48. *Protector, protect thyselfe well.* 55-58. *The winds . . . strife*] 49. *The wind growes high, so doth your chollour Lords. Enter one crying, A miracle, a miracle.* 59, 60. *Glou. What . . . proclaim*] 50. *King. How now, now sirrha, what miracle is it?* 61, 62. *A miracle . . . what miracle*] omitted Q.

iv. 106, and note, Arden edition, p. 55; and also *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 132. Ben Jonson has it in *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. i.; and in *Gipsies Metamorphosed* (Cuningham's Gifford, iii. 152, b). Have you taken it in? Not in Q. Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie*: "Hieronimo, *you are not well advisde*" (III. xii. 67) (Boas edition).

48. *I am with you*] I'll meet you, I'll match you. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 78: "Was *I with you* there for the goose?"

51. *I'll shave your crown*] Compare "bald pate" to the friar in *Measure for Measure*, v. i. 329, 357. No other direct personal reference to the tonsure, I think, occurs in Shakespeare. Compare Peele, *Edward I.* (Dyce, 381, a): "Friar. Here swear I by my *shaven crown*. Wench," etc.

52. *fence*] fencing; as in "Master of Fence" (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. i. 295). Compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, v. i. 75; *Twelfth Night*, III. iv. 312; and elsewhere. Not in Q.

53. *Medice, teipsum*] From Luke iv. 23.

55. *stomachs*] tempers. "Cholers" in Q.

57. *jar*] grow out of tune. A favourite word in this musical sense with Shakespeare. Not in Q.

58. *compound this strife*] Occurs again in *Taming of a Shrew*, II. i. 343; and in *Richard III.* II. i. 74. "Compound this quarrel" is also in *Taming of a Shrew*, I. ii. 27. An expression of Peele's also: "To calm, to qualify, and to *compound Th' ambitious strife* of Scotland's climbing peers" (*Edward I.*, Dyce, 385, a), *circa* 1590? And *Faerie Queene*, III. iii. 23: "Till universall peace *compound* all civill jarre."

61. *A miracle*] Shakespeare probably took this from Grafton (it is not in Hall or Holinshed), who found it in Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue*, 1530. Grafton says it is "in the xiiij. chapter of the same booke, in thys wise following. In the time of King Henry the sixt as he roade in Progresse, there came to the towne of Saint Albons a certaine begger with hys wyfe, and there was walking about the towne begging fiue or six dayes before the kinges comming thether, sayeng that he was borne blinde and never sawe in all his life, and was warned in his dreame that he should come out of Berwike, where he sayd

Suf. Come to the king and tell him what miracle.
One. Forsooth, a blind man at Saint Alban's shrine,
Within this half hour hath received his sight;
A man that ne'er saw in his life before.
King. Now, God be praised, that to believing souls
Gives light in darkness, comfort in despair!

Enter the Mayor of Saint Alban's and his brethren; and SIMPCOX, *borne between two persons in a chair; his Wife and a great multitude following.*

Car. Here comes the townsmen on procession,
To present your highness with the man.
King. Great is his comfort in this earthly vale,
Although by his sight his sin be multiplied.

63-65. *One. Forsooth . . . before*] 51, 52. *One. And it please your grace, there is a man that came blinde to S. Albones, and hath receiued his sight at his shrine.* 66, 67. *Now . . . despair I*] 53. *Goe fetch him hither, that wee may glorifie the Lord with him. Enter . . . brethren with Musicke, bearing the man that had bene blind, betweene two in a chaire.* 68, 69. *Here . . . man*] omitted Q. 70, 71. *Great . . . multiplied*] 55, 56. *Thou happie man, giue God eternall praise, For he it is that thus hath helped thee.*

that he had ever dwelled, to seke Saint Albon, and that he had bene at his Shrine, and was not holpen, and therefore he would go seeke him at some other place: For he had heard some saye sence he came, that Saint Albons body should be at Colyn, and in dede such a contention hath there bene. . . . But to tell you foorth when the King was come, and the towne full of people, sodainely this blind man at Saint Albons Shryne had his sight & the same was solemnply rong for a miracle, and Te Deum songen, so that nothing was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So happened it then that Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, a man no lesse wise, then also well learned, hauing great ioy to see suche a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and first shewying himselfe ioyous of Gods Glorie, so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to mekenesse, and to no ascribyng of any part of the worship to himselfe, nor to be proude of the peoples praise, which would call him a good & a godly man therby, at the last he looked well upon his eien, & asked whether he could euer see anything at al in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himselfe affirmed fastly, no, then he looked aduisedly upon his eyen agayne, and sayde, I beleue you very well, for me thinketh that ye cannot see well yet. Yes Sir quoth he, I thanke God and his holy Martir, I can see now as well as any man: yea can, quod the Duke, what colour is my Gowne? Then anone the begger told him. What colour quod he is this mans Gowne? he tolde him also without anye stayeng or stomblyng, and tolde the names of all the coloures that coulde be shewed him. And when the Duke sawe that he bade him walke Faytoure, and made him to be set openly in the stockes: For though he could haue sene sodaynely by miracle the difference betwene dyuers coloures, yet could he not by sight so sodainely tell the names of all these coloures, except he had knowne them before, no more then he coulde name all the men whome he should sodainely see, thus farre mayster Moore" (The XXV Yere). For a reference to miracles shown in Henry's lifetime, on account of his "parfyte holines," see in Polidore Vergil, at I. iii. 59 above (note).

66, 67. *God be praised . . . comfort in despair*] Here as in earlier passages (see note at l. 18 above). Henry's piety is enlarged upon from the *Contention.* See too ll. 84-86.

70. *earthly vale*] Shakespeare is fond of this metaphorical use. See *Comedy of Errors*, v. i. 120; *Othello*, III. iii. 266.

Glou. Stand by, my masters; bring him near the king:
His highness' pleasure is to talk with him.
King. Good fellow, tell us here the circumstance,
That we for thee may glorify the Lord.
What! hast thou been long blind, and now restored?
Simp. Born blind, an 't please your grace.
Wife. Ay, indeed, was he.
Suf. What woman is this?
Wife. His wife, an 't like your worship.
Glou. Hadst thou been his mother, thou could'st have better told.
King. Where wert thou born?
Simp. At Berwick in the north, an 't like your grace.
King. Poor soul! God's goodness hath been great to thee:
Let never day nor night unhallowed pass,
But still remember what the Lord hath done.
Queen. Tell me, good fellow, cam'st thou here by chance,
Or of devotion, to this holy shrine?
Simp. God knows, of pure devotion; being called
A hundred times and oftener in my sleep,
By good Saint Alban; who said, "Simpcox, come;
Come, offer at my shrine, and I will help thee."
Wife. Most true, forsooth; and many time and oft
Myself have heard a voice to call him so.
Car. What! art thou lame?
Simp. Ay, God Almighty help me!

72, 73. *Stand by . . . with him*] 57. *Where wast thou born?* 74-76. *Good fellow . . . restor'd?*] omitted Q (see 53 above). 76. *King. . . . hast thou been long blind*] 69. *Humph. But tell me wart thou borne blinde?* 77. *Simp. Born . . . grace*] 70. *Poore man. I truly sir.* 78. *Wife. Ay . . . he*] 71. *Woman. I indeed, sir, he was borne blinde.* 79. *Suf. What . . . this?*] 72. *Humphrey. What art thou his mother?* 80. *Wife. His . . . worship*] 73. *Woman. His wife sir.* 81. *Glou. Hadst . . . told*] 74, 75. *Humphrey. Hadst . . . told* (two lines). 82. *King. Where . . . born?*] 57. *Humphrey. Where wast thou borne?* 83. *Simp. At . . . grace*] 58, 59. *Poore man. At Barwicke Sir, in the North. Humphrey. At Barwicke, and come thus far for helpe.* 84-86. *Poor soul! . . . Lord hath done*] omitted Q. 87, 88. *Queen. Tell me . . . shrine?*] omitted Q. 89-92. *Simp. God knows . . . help thee*] 60, 61. *Poore man. I sir, it was told me in my sleepe, That sweet saint Albones, should give me my sight againe.* 93, 94. *Wife. Most true . . . so*] omitted Q. 95. *Car. What! . . . lame?*] 62. *Humphry. What art thou lame too?* 95. *Simp. Ay . . . me*] 63. *Poore man. I indeed sir, God helpe me.*

77, 83. *your grace*] The tiresome iteration of this expression, or title, is noticeable in these plays; but perhaps most so in *Richard III.* It is a characteristic with Peele. It occurs fifteen times in the first Act of *Jack Straw*. A popular trick of the time in stage-dialogue.

93. *many time and oft*] Several times in Shakespeare: as *The Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 107; *1 Henry IV.* I. ii. 56, etc. See, too, *Disobedient Child* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, ii. 292), *circa* 1560; and Nashe, *Christes Teares* (Grosart, iv. 196), 1593. It occurs in Golding's *Ovid*, i. 93; and as "full *many a time and oft*," four or five times, later (1565-1567).

Suf. How cam'st thou so?
Simp. A fall off of a tree.
Wife. A plum-tree, master.
Glou. How long hast thou been blind?
Simp. O! born so, master.
Glou. What! and would'st climb a tree?
Simp. But that in all my life, when I was a youth.
Wife. Too true; and bought his climbing very dear.
Glou. Mass, thou lov'dst plums well, that would'st venture so.
Simp. Alas! master, my wife desired some damsons,
And made me climb with danger of my life.
Glou. A subtle knave! but yet it shall not serve.
Let me see thine eyes: wink now: now open them.
In my opinion yet thou see'st not well.
Simp. Yes, master, clear as day, I thank God and Saint Alban.
Glou. Say'st thou me so? What colour is this cloak of?
Simp. Red, master; red as blood.
Glou. Why, that 's well said. What colour is my gown of?
Simp. Black, forsooth; coal-black as jet.

96. *How cam'st thou so?*] 64. *Humphry. How cam'st thou lame?* 96, 97. *Simp. A . . . tree. Wife. A . . . master*] 65. *Poore man. With falling off on a plum-tree.* 97, 98. *Glou. How . . . blind? Simp. O! . . . master*] omitted Q. 98. *Glou. What! . . . tree?*] 66. *Humph. Wart thou blind & wold clime plumtrees?* 99. *Simp. But . . . youth*] 66, 67. *Poore man. Never but once sir in all my life, My wife did long for plums* (see text 102. *wife . . . damsons*). 100-105. *Wife. . . . Simp. . . . Glou. A subtle . . . them*] omitted Q. 105, 106. *Let me see . . . yet . . . well*] 76. *Humphry . . . Why let me see I thinke thou canst not see yet.* 107. *Yes . . . Alban*] 77. *Yes truly maister, as cleare as day.* 108. *Say'st . . . cloak of*] 78. *Saist thou so. What colours his cloake?* 109. *Red . . . blood*] 79. *Why red . . . as red . . .* 110-112. *Glou. Why . . . of. Simp. Black . . . jet. King. Why . . . jet is of*] 80-86. *Humphry. And his cloake? Poore man. Why thats greene. Humphry. And what colours his hose? Poore man. Yellow maister, yellow as gold. Humphry. And what colours my gowne? Poore man. Black sir, as black as Ieat. King. Then belike he knowes what colour Ieat is on.*

107. *clear as day*] Gabriel Harvey has "Is it not *cleerer* than the sonne *at noonedayes?*" (*Letters to Spenser* (Grosart, i. 123), 1580). Not in Shakespeare again.

108. *Say'st thou me so*] A favourite mode with Shakespeare, Nashe and others. Schmidt gives a good collection (pp. 565, 566).

109. *red as blood*] Not in Shakespeare again. Several times in Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (Dyce, 446, b; 447, b).

111. *coal-black*] In Golding's *Ovid* (book vii. 824): "Did shift their meygernesse and *coleblacke* hue" (1567). Marlowe has "The Ocean, Terrene, and the *Coal-black* sea" in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. III. i. (1586). In Shakespeare it occurs again in *Richard II.* v. i. 49; in *3 Henry VI.* v. i. 54, and three times in *Titus Andronicus*. Not in Q. It occurs in Chaucer, and very often in the *Faerie Queene*.

111. *black as jet*] Again only in *Titus Andronicus*, v. ii. 50. It occurs in the fourth book of Golding's *Ovid*, l. 602: "The poastes began to quake and doores looke *blacke as jet.*" And

King. Why, then, thou know'st what colour jet is of?
Suf. And yet, I think, jet did he never see.
Glou. But cloaks and gowns before this day a many.
Wife. Never, before this day, in all his life.
Glou. Tell me, sirrah, what 's my name?
Simp. Alas! master, I know not.
Glou. What 's his name?
Simp. I know not.
Glou. Nor his?
Simp. No, indeed, master.
Glou. What 's thine own name?
Simp. Saunder Simpcox, an if it please you, master.
Glou. Then, Saunder, sit there, the lyingest knave in Christendom. If thou hadst been born blind, thou might'st as well have known all our names as thus to name the several colours we do wear. Sight may distinguish of colours, but suddenly to nominate them all, it is impossible. My lords, Saint Alban here hath done a miracle; and would ye not think his cunning to be great, that could restore this cripple to his legs again?
Simp. O master, that you could!

113. *Suf. And . . . see*] 87. *Suffolke. And . . . see.* 114 and 116. *Glou. But . . . name?*] 88, 89. *But . . . ere this day many a one. But tell . . . name?* 115. *Wife. Never . . .*] omitted Q. 117. *Alas . . . not*] 90. *Alasse maister . . . not.* 118-120. *Glou. What's . . . his*] 91-93. *Humphry. Whats . . . his.* 121. *No . . . master*] 94-96. *No truly sir. Humph. Nor his name? Poore man. No indeed maister.* 122. *What's . . .*] 97. *Whats . . .* 123. *Saunder Simpcox . . .*] 98. *Sander, and it please you maister.* 124-132. *Then Saunder . . . Alban* (*Albones* Q) *. . . ye not think* (*you not think* Q) *. . . again?*] 99-105. *Then Sander . . . againe.* 133. *that*] 106. *I would.*

in Peele, *Polyhymnia* (Dyce, p. 570, a), 1590; and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. iii. It is in Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* (reprint, p. 135): "And every tothe as *blacke as ony gete*."

114. *a many*] "many a one" in Q. As a noun, again in *2 Henry IV.* I. iii. 91; and still, and earlier, in expression "a good many."

124. *sit there*] there you are, or there you go. You are proclaimed. There you have your existence. Compare "them that *sit* in darkness and in the shadow of death" (Psalm 107).

124, 125. *the lyingest knave in Christendom*] The line occurs again in *Taming of a Shrew*, Induction, 2-26, an unusual occurrence in Shakespeare, and apparently overlooked by the commentators, down to the Arden edition of *Taming of a Shrew*. Compare, too, "the prettiest Kate in Christendom" (same play, II. i. 188); and "The bluntest wooer in Christendom" (*3 Henry VI.* III. ii. 83). *New Eng. Dict.* has an example in a serious use of date 1460: the "mightest King in Christendom." Crawford (*Collectanea*, pp. 118, 119) dwells on the occurrence of this expression in *Soliman and Perseda*, and in *Arden of Feversham*. See note at *3 Henry VI.* III. ii. 83: "The bluntest wooer in Christendom."

128. *nominate them*] give them their true names; implying recognition. Earlier in *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 16, but the sense is different. Compare Greene, *Blacke Booke* (Grosart, xi. 6): "to shadowe his villany the more would *nominate* himselfe to be a Marshall man." A favourite word with Gabriel Harvey.

Glou. My masters of Saint Alban's, have you not beadles in your town, and things called whips?

Mayor. Yes, my lord, if it please your grace.

Glou. Then send for one presently.

Mayor. Sirrah, go fetch the beadle hither straight.

[*Exit an Attendant.*

Glou. Now fetch me a stool hither by and by. Now, sirrah, if you mean to save yourself from whipping, leap me over this stool and run away.

Enter Beadle.

Simp. Alas! master, I am not able to stand alone:
You go about to torture me in vain.

Glou. Well, sir, we must have you find your legs. Sirrah beadle, whip him till he leap over that same stool.

Bead. I will, my lord. Come on, sirrah; off with your doublet quickly.

Simp. Alas! master, what shall I do? I am not able to stand.

[*After the Beadle hath hit him once, he leaps over the stool and runs away; and they follow and cry, "A miracle!"*

134-138. *My masters . . . straight.* [*Exit an Attendant*] 107-112. *My Maisters . . . straight. Exet one.* 139-150. *Now fetch me . . . to stand*] 113-122. (*Humphry and 'Poore man'*) *Now fetch me . . . to stand.* 150. [*After . . . hit him once . . . A miracle!*] 122. *After . . . hit him one girke . . . ruu after*

135. *things called whips*] "A humorous method of expression, occasionally used satirically at the present day" (Halliwell). Collier noticed that these words occur in Armins' *Nest of Ninnies*, 1608: "There are as Hamlet says, *things called whips* in store" (Grosart's reprint, p. 58). He continually has playscraps from Shakespeare. The expression occurs in Jonson's additions to Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie* (III. x.) (Boas):—

"heaven is heaven still,
And there is Nemesis, and Furies,
And *things called whippes*."

The date of these additions is 1602. It is suggested that the quotation (for such it seems), or tag, is out of the old *Hamlet*, probably by Kyd, in which Armins appears to have acted. Evidently the words in the original referred to the whips (of iron or steel) of Nemesis and the Furies. These appear in *Locrine* and *Selimus* (of Erynnis and Furies), later plays. Earlier Kyd has:—

"Deepest hell
Where bloudie furies shake their *whips* of steele"

(I. i. 65) (Boas), from Virgil's *Æneid*. But Peele is better in *The Battle of Alcazar*:—

"Furies . . .
Range through this army with your iron *whips*"

(436, b). And:—

"Nemesis with bloody *whip* in hand,
Thunders for vengeance"

(425, a). And especially:—

"Nemesis, high mistress of revenge,
That with her scourge keeps all the world in awe"

(421, b). I say especially, because these last words occur in *Hamlet*, v. i. 238: "Kept the world in awe"—establishing a connection between Peele and the old *Hamlet*. Nemesis is especially Peele's. Professor Boas's parallels from *Hamlet*, Q 1, with Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* are not so weighty as this.

150. *hit him once*] "*hit him one*

King. O God! seest thou this, and bearest so long?
Queen. It made me laugh to see the villain run.
Glou. Follow the knave; and take this drab away.
Wife. Alas! sir, we did it for pure need.
Glou. Let them be whipped through every market-town till they come to Berwick, from whence they came.

[*Exeunt Mayor, Beadle, Wife, etc.*

Car. Duke Humphrey has done a miracle to-day.
Suf. True; made the lame to leap and fly away.
Glou. But you have done more miracles than I;
You made in a day, my lord, whole towns to fly.

Enter BUCKINGHAM.

King. What tidings with our cousin Buckingham?
Buck. Such as my heart doth tremble to unfold.
A sort of naughty persons, lewdly bent,
Under the countenance and confederacy
Of Lady Eleanor, the protector's wife,

him, crying, A miracle, a miracle. 151-154. *King. O God! . . . Long? . . . Wife. Alas! . . . need*] omitted Q. 155-157. *Let . . . came*] 123-126. *A miracle, a miracle, let him be taken againe, & whipt through euery Market Towne til he comes at Barwick where he was borne. Mayor. It shall be done my Lord. Exet. Mayor.* 158, 159. *Car. . . . to-day. Suf. . . . away*] 127, 128. *Suffolke. My Lord Protector hath done wonders to-day, He hath made the blinde to see, and halt to go.* 160, 161. *Glou. But . . . to fly*] 129-132. *Humph. I but you did greater wonders, when you made whole Dukedoms flie in a day. Witnesse France. King. Haue done I say, and let me hear no more of that. Enter the Duke of Buckingham.* 162. *What . . . Buckingham*] 133. *What newes brings Duke Humphrey of Buckingham?* 163-174. *Such as . . . understand*] 134-142. *Ill newes for some my Lord, and this it is, That proud dame Elnor our Protectors wife, Hath plotted treason 'gainst the King and Peerse, By wichcrafts, sorceries and coniurings, Who by such meanes did raise a spirit*

girke" of the *Contention* is a neat stage-direction; and it is worthy of note that Peele has a most interesting series of stage-directions in all his signed plays. They continually repay study. "Jerk," the proper word for a stroke of a whip, is only used once in Shakespeare, metaphorically, in *Love's Labour 's Lost*, IV. ii. 129. In a note to the Arden edition of that play (p. 82), I have given a good example from Greene's *Never too Late to Mend* (Grosart, viii. 193), 1590.

153. *drab*] See note to Part I. v. iv. 32.

161. *whole towns*] An exaggerated form of speech found in Peele, *Edward I.* (Dyce, 388, a): "Sending *whole centuries* of heathen souls to Pluto's house." And in *Selimus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 201): "And seeke with swoord *whole kingdomes* to displace"; and p. 244: "Burne up the fields, and ouerthrow *whole towns*." Peele had a hand in *Selimus*. But *Tamburlaine*, Part II., mentions a greater miracle: "And make *whole cities* caper in the air" (III. ii., 55, a).

164. *A sort of naughty persons*] a crew, pack. Used contemptuously often: "*A sort of vagabonds*" (*Richard III.* v. iii. 316) and "*a sort of tinkers*" (below, III. ii. 277). Similarly in Grafton (*King John*, The XIII Yere), p. 241: "*A sort* also there were *of prelates* that time which were not pleased . . . yea euery sawcy Sir Ihon for his part." Not in Q.

164. *bent*] inclined.

165. *confederacy*] league, conspiracy. In this bad sense Shakespeare uses the word several times (*King Lear, Midsummer Night's Dream*, etc.) Not in Q.

The ringleader and head of all this rout,
Have practised dangerously against your state,
Dealing with witches and with conjurers:
Whom we have apprehended in the fact;
Raising up wicked spirits from underground,
Demanding of King Henry's life and death,
And other of your highness' privy council,
As more at large your grace shall understand.

Car. And so, my lord protector, by this means
Your lady is forthcoming yet at London.
This news, I think, hath turned your weapon's edge;
'Tis like, my lord, you will not keep your hour.

Glou. Ambitious churchman, leave to afflict my heart:
Sorrow and grief have vanquished all my powers;
And, vanquished as I am, I yield to thee,
Or to the meanest groom.

vp, To tell her what hap should betide the state, But ere they had finisht their diuellish drift, By Yorke and my selfe they were all surprisde, And heres the answere the diuel did make to them. 175.] 143-153. *King. First of the King, what shall become of him? Reads. The Duke* (as at I. iv. 23, 24, *Yet* for *But*): 146. *Gods will be done in all*: 147, 148. *What . . . end* (as at I. iv. 25, 26): 149, 150. *Suffolke. By water must the Duke of Suffolke die? It must be so or else the diuel doth lie.* 151-153. *Let Somerset . . . For safer . . . stand* (as at I. iv. 27-29). 175-178. *Car. And so . . . hour*] 154-156. *Heres good stuffe, how now my Lord Protector This newes I think hath turnde your weapons point, I am in doubt youle scarsly keepe your promise.* 179-182 and 187-196. *Ambitious . . . groom* (and) *Madam . . . honest name*] 157-165. *Forbeare ambitious Prelate to*

167. *ringleader*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Occurs in Udall's *Erasmus* (Roberts, p. 373), 1542: "One of the chief *ringlederes* and capitaines." And in Heywood's *Proverbs* (ed. Sharman, p. 41), 1546:—

"Shee is as sure to hold as an eele
by the taile,
Shee is neither fish nor flesh nor
good red herring,
Shee is a *ringleader* there."

And in Hall's *Chronicle* (1809, p. 242), 1548.

167. *head*] leader. So in (Peele's) *Jack Straw*: "Following desperately your lewd and misgoverned *heads*, which have haled you on" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 410).

171. *spirits from underground*] See above, I. ii. 72.

174. *at large*] at length, in full detail. This is a characterism of Shakespeare's historical and earlier plays. It occurs half a dozen times in the first two parts of *Henry VI.* up to this; and twice each in *Richard II.* and *Henry V.*; in *2 Henry IV.*, *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*; in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Comedy of Errors*; but in no late work. Probably one of the many instances that could be adduced of the result of his early (perhaps earliest) reading for his work, in the Chronicle Histories. Not in Q.

176. *forthcoming*] See note, I. iv. 53.

177. *turned . . . edge*] Surely an improvement on "turned the point" in the *Contention*, especially of a sword. See below, IV. x. 60, for another example.

178. *keep your hour*] Compare *Comedy of Errors*, III. i. 2: "My wife is shrewish when I *keep not hours*." The *Contention* has "promise." This and the last are the evidence that comes in grains to make up the weight for the work of a different hand in the text.

179. *Ambitious churchman*] The adjective is used thus, in addressing, half a dozen times in the three parts, but not, I think, elsewhere in Shakespeare.

179-182. *Ambitious . . . meanest groom*] These touching and dignified words have no counterpart in the original. They at once win our

King. O God! what mischiefs work the wicked ones,
Heaping confusion on their own heads thereby.
Queen. Gloucester, see here the tainture of thy nest,
And look thyself be faultless, thou wert best.
Glou. Madam, for myself, to heaven I do appeal,
How I have loved my king and commonweal;
And, for my wife, I know not how it stands.
Sorry I am to hear what I have heard:
Noble she is, but if she have forgot
Honour and virtue, and conversed with such
As, like to pitch, defile nobility,
I banish her my bed and company,
And give her as a prey to law and shame,
That hath dishonoured Gloucester's honest name.
King. Well, for this night we will repose us here:
To-morrow toward London back again,
To look into this business thoroughly,
And call these foul offenders to their answers;
And poise the cause in justice' equal scales,
Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful cause prevails.
[*Flourish. Exeunt.*

urge my griefe, And pardon me my gratious Soueraigne, For here I sweare vnto your Maiestie, That I am guiltlasse of those hainous crimes Which my ambitious wife hath falsly done, And for she would betraie her soueraigne Lord, I here renounce her from my bed and boord, And leaue her open for the law to iudge, Vnlesse she cleare her selfe of this foule deed. 183-185. *King. O God! . . . Queen. Gloucester*] omitted Q. 197-202. *King. Well . . . prevails. Exeunt*] 166-170. *King. Come my Lords this night weele lodge in S. Albones, And to morrow we will ride to London, And trie the utmost of these Treasons forth, Come vnckle Gloster along with us, My mind doth tell me thou art innocent. Exet omnes.*

sympathy for Gloucester as they are meant to do, forming a corollary to the second scene in the play.

183. *the wicked ones*] the wicked. Compare *Locrine* (by Peele and Greene?), i. 1:—

> "wear a wreath of sempiternal fame
> Sorted amongst the glorious happy ones."

Biblical (Matthew xiii. 38).

185. *tainture*] blemish, defilement. Compare "attainture," above, I. ii. 106. Both are peculiar to this play in Shakespeare, but neither occurs in the *Contention*.

190, 191. *Sorry I am . . . Noble she is*] This ineffective transposition, smacking of a beginner, is not peculiar to this passage. "Sorry I am" occurs in *Richard III.* III. vii. 88 ("sorry am I" is frequent). "*Noble she was*, and thought I stood engaged," is in *All's Well that Ends Well*, v. iii. 95.

193. *pitch, defile*] Again in *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. iii. 60.

194. *bed and company*] "bed and board" in the *Contention;* which occurs transposed in *As You Like It*, v. iv. 148.

199. *thoroughly*] Notice here the trochaics or triple-endings so plentiful in this scene; thoroughly, repose us here, company, nobility, how it stands, in the style of Peele. This metrical fashion may have been due to Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. It abounds in the plays of about this date, but not in earlier ones. Shakespeare soon shook it off.

201. *poise . . . in justice' . . . scales*] This metaphor, including the beam, occurs again in *All's Well that Ends Well*, II. iii. 161. And compare *Othello*, I. iii. 331, and *Hamlet*, IV. v. 157.

202. *beam*] "A needle or tongue of a balance or *beam* (*Examen*)" (J. Rider, *Bibliotheca Scholastica*, Oxford, 1589).

SCENE II.—*London. The Duke of* YORK'S *Garden.*

Enter YORK, SALISBURY, *and* WARWICK.

York. Now, my good Lords of Salisbury and Warwick,
Our simple supper ended, give me leave
In this close walk to satisfy myself,
In craving your opinion of my title,
Which is infallible, to England's crown.
Sal. My lord, I long to hear it at full.
War. Sweet York, begin; and if thy claim be good,
The Nevils are thy subjects to command.
York. Then thus:
Edward the Third, my lords, had seven sons:
The first, Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales;
The second, William of Hatfield; and the third,
Lionel Duke of Clarence; next to whom
Was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster;
The fifth was Edmund Langley, Duke of York;

SCENE II. . . . Garden] omitted Q (as throughout). *Enter . . .*] *Enter the Duke of . . . and the Earles of . . .* 1-5. *York. Now . . . crown*] 1-4. *My Lords our simple supper ended, thus, Let me reueale vnto your honours here, The right and title of the house of Yorke, To Englands Crowne by liniall desent.* 6. *Sal. My . . . full*] omitted Q. 7, 8. *War. Sweet York . . . command*] 5, 6. *Then Yorke . . . command.* 9, 10. *Then . . . sons*] 7, 8. *Then thus my Lords. Edward the third had seuen sonnes.* 11. *The first . . . Wales*] 9, 10. *The first was . . . Wales.* 12. *The second . . . Hatfield*] 11, 12. *The second was Edmund of Langley, Duke of Yorke.* 12, 13. *And the third . . . Clarence*] 13. *The third was Lyonell . . . Clarence.* 13, 14. *next . . . Lancaster*] 14, 15. *The fourth was Iohn . . . Lancaster.* 15. *The fifth . . . York*] 16. *The fifth was Roger Mortemor, Earle of March.*

3. *close*] private.

4. *title*] We have had this before, on a smaller scale in Part I. II. iv. and VI. v. Boswell Stone deals with this intricate question, showing that Shakespeare drew from Holinshed, who took the pedigree from Stow's *Annales*. It is noteworthy that the *Contention* has three mistakes of its own: at the second son; at the order of the sixth and seventh sons; and at the fifth son. The edition of 1619 corrects these in the *Contention*, reading as the amended play does in the Folio. This 1619 edition has another difference here, giving (from Holinshed) after "died before his father" (line 18) the following words: "*Leauing behinde him two sonnes; Edward, borne at Angolesme, who died young*, and Richard that was after crowned King." It is not in the least probable that these words were expressly introduced into the third (1619) edition from Holinshed. There must have been a variant text of the first. The confusion between Sir Edmund Mortimer (brother to Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March), and Edmund Mortimer, fifth earl of March (from Holinshed) is increased on the next page (ll. 41, 42). See note at line 41 below.

5. *Which is infallible*] Grafton has the words "the very true and *infallible* heyre" in his summary of York's title (p. 666). The earlier part of the pedigree is given more fully in Grafton at the end of Edward the Third's reign (pp. 411, 412). The words "by lineal descent" used here in the *Contention* are found in Part I. III. i. 166, when the King is restoring to Plantagenet his rights, in an unhappy moment. Grafton has: "I am the very true and lyneall heyre which discent all you cannot justly gayne say" (p. 667).

The sixth was Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester;
William of Windsor was the seventh and last.
Edward the Black Prince died before his father,
And left behind him Richard, his only son,
Who, after Edward the Third's death, reigned as king;
Till Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster,
The eldest son and heir of John of Gaunt,
Crowned by the name of Henry the Fourth,
Seized on the realm, deposed the rightful king,
Sent his poor Queen to France, from whence she came,
And him to Pomfret; where, as all you know,
Harmless Richard was murdered traitorously.
War. Father, the duke hath told the truth;
Thus got the house of Lancaster the crown.
York. Which now they hold by force and not by right;
For Richard, the first son's heir, being dead,
The issue of the next son should have reigned.
Sal. But William of Hatfield died without an heir.
York. The third son, Duke of Clarence, from whose line
I claim the crown, had issue Philippe, a daughter,

16. *The sixth . . . Gloucester*] 17. *The sixt was sir Thomas of Woodstocke.* 17. *William . . . last.*] 18. *William . . . last.* 18-20. *Edward . . . king*] 19-21. *Now, Edward the blacke Prince he died before his father, and left behinde him Richard, that afterwards was King, Crownde by the name of Richard the second, and he died without an heire.* 21-27. *Till Henry . . . traitorously*] 27-33. *Now sir, In thy time of Richards raigne, Henry of Bullingbrooke, sonne and heire to Iohn of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster fourth sonne to Edward the third, he claimde the Crowne, deposde the Merthfull King, and as both you know, in Pomphret Castle harmelesse Richard was shamefully murthered.* 28, 29. *War. Father . . . crown*] 32, 33. (continued from *murthered*) *and so by Richards death came the house of Lancaster vnto the Crowne.* 30-33. *York. Which . . . heir*] omitted Q. 34-38. *The third son . . . Clarence . . . Elinor*] 22-27. *Edmund of Langley Duke of Yorke died, and left behind him two daughters, Anne and Elinor. Lyonell Duke of Clarence died and left behind Alice, Anne and Elinor, that was after married to my father, and by her I claime the crowne, as the true heire to Lyonell Duke of Clarence, the third sonne to Edward the third.* (*Now sir*, etc.).

24. *rightful king*] "Merthfull king" in the *Contention* (1600 and 1619). The word appears in *3 Henry VI.* v. vii. 43; nowhere else.

26. *as all you know*] *All* is used again by Shakespeare, addressing only two persons in *2 Henry IV.* III. i. 35: "Why then good morrow to you *all*, my lords" (addressing Warwick and Surrey). Malone called attention to this. I find a good example in the *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 61:—

"The dead knights sword out of his sheath he drew,
With which he cutt a lock of *all* their heare,
Which medling with their blood and earth he threw
Into the grave."

"All" are the parents, Mordant and Amavia.

27. *traitorously*] Three times in this play. Elsewhere only in *All's Well that Ends Well*. Compare Peele, *Sir Clyomon* (532, a): "And *traitorously* did them betray in prison for to keep."

Who married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March;
Edmund had issue, Roger, Earl of March;
Roger had issue, Edmund, Anne, and Eleanor.
Sal. This Edmund, in the reign of Bolingbroke,
As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
And, but for Owen Glendower, had been king,
Who kept him in captivity till he died.
But to the rest.
York. His eldest sister, Anne,
My mother, being heir unto the crown,
Married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was son
To Edmund Langley, Edward the Third's fifth son.
By her I claim the kingdom: she was heir
To Roger, Earl of March, who was the son
Of Edmund Mortimer, who married Philippe,
Sole daughter unto Lionel Duke of Clarence:
So, if the issue of the elder son
Succeed before the younger, I am king.
War. What plain proceeding is more plain than this?

39-43. *Sal. This Edmund . . . to the rest*] 34-36. *Sals. Sauing your tale my Lord, as I haue heard, in the raigne of Bullenbrooke, the Duke of Yorke did claime the Crowne, and but for Owin Glendor, had bene King.* 43-52. *York. His eldest . . . king*] 37-41. *True. But it so fortuned then, by meanes of that monstrous rebel Glendor, the noble Duke of Yorke was done to death, and so euer since the heires of Iohn of Gaunt haue possessed the Crowne. But if the issue of the elder should succeed before the issue of the yonger, then am I lawfull heire vnto the kingdome.* 53-62. *What pain . . . crown*] 42-49. *What plaine proceedings can be more plaine, hee claimes it from Lyonel Duke of Clarence, the*

42. *kept him in captivity till he died*] "He appears to have been at liberty during the whole reign of King Henry V.—and there is no proof that he ever was confined, as a state-prisoner, by King Henry IV. . . . The historian has confounded Mortimer with Lord Gray of Ruthvin, who was likewise taken prisoner by Glendower, and actually did marry his daughter" (Malone). See Part I. II. v. It is better here to quote Grafton about these Mortimers (IX Yere of *Richarde the Seconde*, p. 431), and the title then: "and by aucthoritie of the same Parliament, Sir Roger Mortimer Erle of March, and sonne and heyre unto Sir Edmond Mortimer, and of Dame Philip eldest daughter and heyre unto Sir Lyonell the second sonne of Edward the thirde, was sone after proclaymed heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Englande. The which Sir Roger shortly after sayled into Ireland, to suppresse the rebellion . . . of the people of his Lordship of Wolster, which he was Lord of by his aforesayd mother. But while he was there occupied about the same, the wylde Irishe came upon him in a great number, and slue him and many of his company. This Sir Roger had issue, Edmond, and Roger, Anne, Alice, and Alianor that was made a Nonne. The two aforesayd sonnes dyed without issue, and Anne the eldest daughter was maryed to Richarde Erle of Cambridge, which Richard had issue by the sayd Anne, Isabell ladie Boucher, and Richard that was after Duke of Yorke, and father to King Edward the fourth, which sayd Richard Erle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift at Southhampton."

53. *proceeding*] "process, course," says Schmidt, who equates it with "your hate's *proceeding*" in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. i. 193. The *Contention* (Q 1) has it in the plural. The word refers to the proceeding or process of events in the pedigree, not to the narration of them.

Henry doth claim the crown from John of Gaunt,
The fourth son; York claims it from the third.
Till Lionel's issue fails, his should not reign:
It fails not yet, but flourishes in thee,
And in thy sons, fair slips of such a stock.
Then, father Salisbury, kneel we together,
And in this private plot be we the first
That shall salute our rightful sovereign
With honour of his birthright to the crown.
Both. Long live our sovereign Richard, England's king!
York. We thank you, lords! But I am not your king
Till I be crowned and that my sword be stained
With heart-blood of the house of Lancaster;
And that 's not suddenly to be performed,
But with advice and silent secrecy.
Do you as I do in these dangerous days,
Wink at the Duke of Suffolk's insolence,
At Beaufort's pride, at Somerset's ambition,
At Buckingham and all the crew of them,
Till they have snared the shepherd of the flock,
That virtuous prince, the good Duke Humphrey:
'Tis that they seek; and they in seeking that
Shall find their deaths, if York can prophesy.

third sonne to Edward the third, and Henry from Iohn of Gaunt the fourth sonne. So that till Lyonels . . . flourisheth (57) *. . . braue slips . . . noble father . . . both togither . . . place, be we the first to honor him with birthright to the Crown.* 63. *Long . . . king*] 49. *Long liue Richard Englands royall King.* 64-66. *York. We thank . . . Lancaster*] 50-52. *Yorke. I thanke you both. But Lords I am not your King, vntil this sword be sheathed euen in the hart blood of . . . Lancaster.* 67-76. *And that's not . . . prophesy*] omitted Q.

58. *slips*] cuttings. Still in use amongst gardeners. A favourite word with Shakespeare, and occurring again in this play, III. ii. 214. See note thereto. Compare *Soliman and Perseda*, I. ii. 75 (Boas's *Kyd*): "Yong *slippes* are neuer graft in windy daies" (1592).

59, 60, 77. *kneel we . . . be we . . . break we*] The first two of these are in the *Contention*, the third not. See note to Part I. II. i. 13; and see Schmidt (1343, a) for the extreme prevalence of this trick in the historical plays. But it occurs in several others as well. See below, II. iv. 106.

60. *private plot*] "private place" in original. Capell places this scene in the Duke of York's garden; Pope had "Palace." The Folio does not separate it.

66. *heart-blood*] See note, Part I. I. iii. 83. Always so in Shakespeare; occurs in each of the three Parts, three times in *Richard II.* and in *Troilus and Cressida* once. The term here is from the *Contention*. In the *True Tragedie*, II. i. 52, 53, occurs:—

"I cannot joy till this white rose be dide
Euen in the *hart bloud* of the house of Lancaster."

These lines are omitted in *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 79-87. The repetition is eliminated at this distance, showing Shakespeare's carefulness perhaps, for all the passages are his. And see *1 Henry VI.* II. iv. 61.

68. *advice*] deliberate consideration; as in *King John*, III. iv. 11, and elsewhere. Peele has:—

"For wisdom govern'd by *advice*
Makes many fortunate and wise"
(*Old Wives Tale*, Dyce, 451, a).

75, 76. *'Tis that they seek . . . Shall*

Sal. My lord, break we off; we know your mind at full.
War. My heart assures me that the Earl of Warwick
Shall one day make the Duke of York a king.
York. And, Nevil, this I do assure myself:
Richard shall live to make the Earl of Warwick
The greatest man in England but the king. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*A hall of justice.*

Sound trumpets. Enter the KING, *the* QUEEN, GLOUCESTER, YORK, SUFFOLK, *and* SALISBURY; *the Duchess of* GLOUCESTER, MARGERY JOURDAIN, SOUTHWELL, HUME, *and* BOLINGBROKE, *under guard.*

King. Stand forth, Dame Eleanor Cobham, Gloucester's wife.
In sight of God and us, your guilt is great:

77. *Sal. My lord . . . full*] omitted Q. 78, 79. *War. My heart . . . king*] 53-61. *War. Then Yorke aduise thy selfe and take thy time, Claime thou thee Crowne, and set thy standard vp, And in the same aduance the milke-white Rose, And then to gard it, will I rouse the Beare, Inuiron'd with ten thousand Ragged-staues To aide and helpe thee for to win thy right, Maugre the proudest Lord of Henries blood, That dares deny the right and claime of Yorke, For why my minde presageth I shall liue To see the noble Duke of Yorke to be a king.* 80-82. *York. And Nevil . . . king*] 63-65. *Yorke. Thanks noble Warwicke, and Yorke doth hope to see, The Earle of Warwicke live, to be the greatest man in England but the King. Come let's goe; Exet omnes.*

SCENE III.

Enter King Henry, and the Queene, Duke Humphrey, the Duke of Suffolke, and the Duke of Buckingham, the Cardinall, and Dame Elnor Cobham led with the officers, and then enter to them the Duke of Yorke, and the Earles of Salsbury and Warwicke. 1-13. *King. Stand . . . Isle of Man*] 1-9. *King. Stand . . .*

find] This is Peele's style, but it is also Sidney's; and a greater than either is Spenser: "Her now I seeke . . . And seeking misse, and missing doe lament" (*Daphnaida*, st. 24). But Spenser was not enslaved by it.

78. *Warwick*] The notable bit of rant here, in the *Contention*, omitted from the revised play is very much in the manner of Greene, or his imitator Peele; characteristically so. He has "milk-white steed" and "milk-white way" in *The Arraignment of Paris* and in *Edward I.* (both from Golding's *Ovid*). He has "maugre" several times, but Greene much oftener (in his prose). Both of them rejoice continually in the wretched "for to" often (*Alphonsus*, Grosart, xiii. 342, 362, 363 (twice) and *Selimus*, xiv. 246), and in Peele's undoubted work: "in despair and torture for to dwell" (*Old Wives Tale*, Dyce, 450, b), and "shifts for to defer your labour" (453, a). Peele too has "For why I make it not so great desert" (*Battle of Alcazar* (427, a)), meaning because (often in Golding's *Ovid*, Peele's favourite book). He is nearly as fond of "the proud" or "the proudest people" as Greene: "spare not the proudest he That," etc. (*Edward I.* (406, a)). And there is not in the *Contention* passage the repetition of words inevitable in every few lines of Greene. In the *Battle of Alcazar*, "Myself, environ'd with my trusty guard Of janizaries" (435, b), is a good parallel, for the expression is more often used of hostile surroundings. The "ragged-staff" occurs below, v. i. 203, in company with the bear, the Nevil's cognizance. The "milk-white rose" we have had already at I. i. 252 in an almost identical line (in both plays). Hence its omission here.

82. *come let's goe*] in Q. See note at *3 Henry VI.* I. ii. 75. It occurs again three times in Q. See note at IV. i. 141 below, in this play.

Receive the sentence of the law for sins
Such as by God's book are adjudged to death.
You four, from hence to prison back again;
From thence unto the place of execution:
The witch in Smithfield shall be burned to ashes,
And you three shall be strangled on the gallows.
You, madam, for you are more nobly born,
Despoiled of your honour in your life,
Shall, after three days' open penance done,
Live in your country here in banishment,
With Sir John Stanley, in the Isle of Man.

Duch. Welcome is banishment; welcome were my death.

Glou. Eleanor, the law, thou seest, hath judged thee:
I cannot justify whom the law condemns.

[*Exeunt Duchess and other Prisoners, guarded.*

Mine eyes are full of tears, my heart of grief.

Duches of Gloster, and here the sentence pronounced against thee for these Treasons, that thou hast committed against vs, our States and Peeres. First for thy hainous crimes, thou shalt two daies in London do penance barefoote in the streetes, with a white sheete about thy bodie, and a waxe Taper burning in thy hand. That done, thou shalt be banished for euer into the Ile of Man, there to ende thy wretched daies, and this is our sentence irreuocable. Away with her. 14. *Welcome . . . death*] 10-14. *Euen to my death, for I have liued too long. Exet some with Elnor. King. Greeue not noble vncle, but be thou glad, In that these Treasons are thus come to light, Least God had pourde his vengeance on thy head, For her offences that thou heldst so deare.* 15, 16. *Eleanor . . . condemns*] omitted Q. 17-21. *Mine eyes . . . ease*] 15-19. *Oh gratious Henry, giue me leaue awhile, To leaue your grace and to depart away, For sorrowes teares hath gript my aged heart, And makes the fountaines of mine eyes to swell, And therefore good my Lord, let me depart.*

3. *Receive the sentence*] See extract at the beginning of I. iv. "This trial is an historical anachronism, having actually taken place some time before Henry's marriage" (Halliwell). It took place in 1441; the marriage in 1444. The duplication of the enactments of the sentence, here and at its execution (sc. iv.) in the *Contention*, is erased in the revision. But there is a much more needful addition in the complete play, the sentence upon the four confederates. This must be unintentionally absent from the *Contention*. I see no allusion to it. Grafton tells that "the gallows" was Tyborne, a place Shakespeare seems purposely to avoid mentioning (excepting allusion, *Love's Labour's Lost*). Stow says (*Abridgment*, p. 172): "The 18 of November, Roger Bolinbroke was araigned, drawne from the Tower to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered.

7. *Smithfield*] "Then was taken also Margerie Gurdmain, a witch of Ely, whose sorcery and witchcraft *the said Elianor had long time used*, wherefore the same witch was burnt in Smithfield" (Stow, *Abridgment*, p. 172 (1618)).

8. *strangled*] hanged; choked with a halter, as in *1 Henry IV.* II. iv. 547. Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw*:—

"so many of my countrymen
All done to death and *strangled* in one day"

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 408).

13. *Sir John Stanley*] This name is not in the *Contention*. Shakespeare here, as in many places, follows Hall (or Grafton for choice). Holinshed has Sir Thomas Stanlie, which happens to be also correct (Fabian, Stow). "In 1446 it was ordered that letters under Henry's privy seal should be directed to Sir Thomas Stanley, authorizing him to convey Eleanor Cobham to the Isle of Man" (*Proc. Priv. Co.* vi. 51 (Boswell Stone). See note at "Sir John Montgomery," Part III. IV. vii. 41.

Ah! Humphrey, this dishonour in thine age
Will bring thy head with sorrow to the ground.
I beseech your majesty, give me leave to go;
Sorrow would solace and mine age would ease.
King. Stay, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester: ere thou go,
Give up thy staff: Henry will to himself
Protector be; and God shall be my hope,
My stay, my guide, and lantern to my feet.
And go in peace, Humphrey, no less beloved
Than when thou wert protector to thy king.
Queen. I see no reason why a king of years
Should be to be protected like a child.
God and King Henry govern England's realm!
Give up your staff, sir, and the king his realm.
Glou. My staff? here, noble Henry, is my staff:
As willingly do I the same resign
As e'er thy father Henry made it mine;
And even as willingly at thy feet I leave it
As others would ambitiously receive it.
Farewell, good king! when I am dead and gone,
May honourable peace attend thy throne. [*Exit.*

22-27. *Stay . . . king*] 20-23. *With all my hart good vnkle, when you please, Yet ere thou goest, Humphrey, resigne thy staffe, For Henry will be no more protected, The Lord shall be my guide both for my land and me* (and) 31-33. *Vnkle Gloster, stand vp and go in peace, No lesse beloued of us, then when Thou weart Protector ouer my land. Exit Gloster.* 28-31. *Queen. I see . . . realm*] omitted Q. 32-38. *My staff . . . throne*] 24-30. *My staffe, I noble Henry, my life and all, My staffe I yeeld as willing to be thine, As erst thy noble father . . . as willing . . . And long hereafter when . . . throne.*

21. *Sorrow . . . ease*] Johnson explains this wretched line by giving "would" the sense of "requires" in both cases. For the line here containing "gripes" in Q, see Introduction at Peele's part in this play; and *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 171.

25. *lantern to my feet*] "Thy word is a *lantern to my feet*" (Psalm cxix. 105 (Prayer-Book, Geneva and Wyclif; "lamp" in Authorised Version). For some occult reason Shakespeare (apparently) and his editors are still in some cases undecided how best to spell this word. In Bartlett's *Concordance* it is six on one and half a dozen on the other (lantern).

28, 39, 52. *Queen*] These speeches of the queen's displaying her animosity against Gloucester, and the manly disposition told of her by the Chroniclers, are not in the original play, or only in a lesser degree. In the last scene, at line 184, we see the same process at work, and in various other places. A noteworthy instance is in line 52 (Scene iv.), where the words in the *Contention* (spoken by the Duchess to Gloucester), "her that loves him so"—*i.e.* the queen that loves Suffolk so—are very neatly altered into "her that hateth thee"—a wholly different meaning, enforcing what I refer to.

29. *protected like a child*] See quotation from Marlowe at *1 Henry VI.* I. i. 36: "like a schoolboy."

31. *Give up your staff*] There is no historical authority for Gloucester's dismissal from office consequent upon his wife's disgrace. The nearest approach to this political change lies in a passage quoted at I. i. 163, 164; and see I. iii. 45, 46 (note). For a reference to Henry's coronation at Westminster (when nine months old), see *3 Henry VI.* I. i. 112.

37. *dead and gone*] See Part I. I. iv. 93 (note).

Queen. Why, now is Henry king, and Margaret queen :
And Humphrey Duke of Gloucester scarce himself,
That bears so shrewd a maim : two pulls at once;
His lady banished, and a limb lopped off ;
This staff of honour raught : there let it stand,
Where it best fits to be, in Henry's hand.
Suf. Thus droops this lofty pine and hangs his sprays ;
Thus Eleanor's pride dies in her youngest days.
York. Lords, let him go. Please it your majesty
This is the day appointed for the combat ;
And ready are the appellant and defendant,
The armourer and his man, to enter the lists,
So please your highness to behold the fight.

39-44. *Queen. Why, now . . . hand*] 34. 35. *Queene. Take up the staffe, for here it ought to stand, Where should it be, but in King Henries hand?* 45, 46. *Suffolke. Thus . . . days*] omitted Q. 47-51. *Lords . . . fight*] 36-39. *Please it . . . day That was appointed for the combating Betweene the Armourer and his man, my Lord, And they are readie when your grace doth please.*

41. *maim*] mutilation, disablement. "Shrewd" (evil, bad) is a favourite word with Shakespeare. Kyd (?) has "a shrewd losse" in *Soliman and Perseda*. Note that these lines are not in Q.

41. *pull*] that which is pulled or torn off. An uncommon sense in literature; but a pull, or plucking, of fruit, etc., is, I think, common provincially. The two pulls which go to make up poor Gloucester's mutilation are, of course, his wife and his staff. These words in the queen's mouth give an intenseness to her malice, not found in the *Contention* (see above at l. 28).

42. *lopped*] cut, pruned. Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, VII. vii. 42: "And from the trees did *lop* the needlesse spray." And Peele, *Edward I.*: "I must *lop* his longshanks" (Dyce, 403, a).

43. *raught*] snatched or torn from me. An old preterite of "reach." The nearest parallel in Shakespeare is in *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. ix. 30: "The hand of death hath *raught* him." Spenser uses it somewhat similarly, and Golding, but Peele gives exactly the sense: "This gallant bow *raught* from the oaken tree" (*Arraignment of Paris*, Dyce, 354, a); and again :—

"the fatall fruit,
Raught from the golden tree of Proserpine"

(351, a).

45. *pine*] The same metaphor occurs in *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xii. 23. It is a very familiar one, whether fir, cedar or pine. Compare Zachariah xi. 2.

45. *sprays*] young growth. See *Richard II.* III. iv. 34, and *3 Henry VI.* II. vi. 50. See quotation from Spenser at "lopped," line 42.

46. *youngest days*] Eleanor is not, nor even supposed to be, a young woman here. Either "her" refers to pride, or else we are to suppose that her ambition for the crown had only just begun to exist. These two lines have the air of being crammed in here from some other connection; as if they belonged to Part III. II. vi. 46-49, for example (Rutland).

49. *appellant and defendant*] challenger and challenged in single combat. *New Eng. Dict.* gives an example from Caxton. Grafton uses the terms: "In thys yeare (1383) also was a Battaile or Combate done and holden in the Kings Palayce at Westminster, betwene one called Garcon *Appellaunt*, and Sir Iohn Anslye Knight *Defendaunt*, of the which fight the knight was at length the Victour and forced his enemie to yeelde vnto him. For the which the sayde Garcon was immediatly from that place drawen to Tiborne and there hanged for his false accusation" (p. 430). See *Richard II.* I. iii., in several places. And Ben Jonson's *New Inn*, III. ii.

Queen. Ay, good my lord; for purposely therefore
Left I the court to see this quarrel tried.
King. O' God's name, see the lists and all things fit:
Here let them end it; and God defend the right!
York. I never saw a fellow worse bested,
Or more afraid to fight, than is the appellant,
The servant of this armourer, my lords.

Enter, at one door, the Armourer, and his Neighbours drinking to him so much that he is drunk; and he enters bearing his staff with a sand-bag fastened to it; a drum before him: at the other door, his man with a drum and sand-bag; and Prentices drinking to him.

First Neigh. Here, neighbour Horner, I drink to you in a cup of sack: and fear not, neighbour, you shall do well enough.
Second Neigh. And here, neighbour, here 's a cup of charneco.

52, 53. *Queen. Ay, good . . . tried*] omitted Q. 54-55. *King. O' God's name . . . right*] 40. *King. Then call them forth, that they may trie their rightes.* 56-58. *York. I never . . . lords*] omitted Q. *Enter . . . to him*] *Enter . . . that he is drunken . . . to him.*

55. *God defend the right*] See *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 216, and *Richard II.* I. iii. 101.

56. *bested*] situated, circumstanced. A favourite word with Spenser; and occurs several times in Golding's *Ovid*. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare.

58. *sand-bags*] Warburton wrote: "According to the old laws of duels, knights were to fight with the lance and sword; so those of inferior rank fought with an ebon staff or battoon, to the further end of which was fixed a bag cramm'd hard with sand" (one would think he saw them at it!). He quotes from Hudibras. Halliwell, sad to say, merely repeats Warburton's remarks without acknowledgment: and that is all; echoed again by Grant White, Rolfe and others. There is no mention in Strutt on this practice of antiquity, and he is very full on the subject. Stowe (*Survey of London*, reprint, 142, 143) rehearses "joustings in Smithfield," and thus "Trial by battle" (more satisfactorily told by Grafton); but there are no sand-bags, no ebony battoons. Perhaps the fullest account of a trial by combat (amongst commoners) is that of Thorne and Nailer in 1571, in Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 277-279. George Thorne had "his baston (a staffe of an ell long, made taper wise, tipt with horne) with his shield of hard leather." In the story of *Othello*, told by Cinthio, the Moor kills Desdemona with a stocking full of sand—still heard of, and supposed to leave little evidence behind. I find ebon staves as the staves of pilgrims in *The Seven Champions* (1595). A "speare of heben wood" is mentioned in *Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 37. See I. iv. 217 (in collation).

63. *charneco*] There are frequent later mentions of this wine, but none earlier has been traced. *New Eng. Dict.* has an odd collocation of dates for these two plays at this word, not adhered to later, fortunately. It is stated there (and elsewhere) that Steevens derived "charneco" from the name of a village near Lisbon, but he does not do so in 1793 edition. [Steevens got his information from "the *European Magazine* for March, 1794.] On the contrary, after several later quotations, he says: "None of these passages (as Mr. Malone observes) ascertain either its quality or where it is produced." Warburton said that charneca was the name of a kind of turpentine-tree. That were a jest indeed. See Nares. From the

Third Neigh. And here 's a pot of good double beer, neighbour: drink, and fear not your man.

Hor. Let it come, i' faith, and I 'll pledge you all; and a fig for Peter!

First Pren. Here, Peter, I drink to thee; and be not afraid.

Second Pren. Be merry, Peter, and fear not thy master: fight for credit of the prentices.

Peter. I thank you all: drink, and pray for me, I pray you; for I think I have taken my last draught in this world. Here, Robin, an if I die, I give thee my apron: and, Will, thou shalt have my hammer: and here, Tom, take all the money that I have. O Lord, bless me! I pray God, for I am never able to deal with my master, he hath learnt so much fence already.

Sal. Come, leave your drinking and fall to blows. Sirrah, what 's thy name?

Peter. Peter, forsooth.

Sal. Peter! what more?

Peter. Thump.

Sal. Thump! then see thou thump thy master well.

Hor. Masters, I am come hither, as it were, upon my man's instigation, to prove him a knave, and myself an honest man: and touching the Duke of York, I will take my death I never meant him any ill, nor the king, nor the queen: and therefore, Peter, have at thee with a downright blow.

64. *And here's*] 44. *Heres.* 65. *drink, and fear not*] 45. *drink And be merry, and feare not.* 66. *Hor. Let . . . and I 'll*] 46. *Armourer. Let . . . ile.* 69. *afraid*] 48. *affeard.* 70, 71. *Second P. Be merry . . . prentices*] 49-51. *2 Pren. Here, Peter, heres a pinte of Claret-wine for thee.* 3 *Pren. And heres a quart for me, and be merry Peter, And feare not thy maister, fight for the credit of the Prentises.* 72-74. *I thank you . . . in this world*] 52. *I thanke you all, but ile drinke no more.* 74-84. *Here, Robin . . . thy master well*] 53-63. *Here Robin . . . thy maister.* 85-90. *Horner. Masters . . . downright blow*] 64-68. *Armour. Heres to thee neighbour, fill all the pots againe, for before we fight,*

omission of "claret-wine" here (from the *Contention*), Shakespeare may have deemed there was repetition—that the words had the same meaning. Howell's Vocabulary, Section xviii., 1659, has: "Claret wine; *Vino chiaretto, ò chiarello.*" "Charneco" may be a corruption of that Italian name—which is also in Florio. "Claret-wine" occurs later, IV. vi. 4.

66. *Let it come*] let the glass go round. A drinking expression. See *2 Henry IV.* v. iii. 59, 60.

67. *a fig for Peter!*] See *Othello*, I. iii. 322, note (Arden edition, p. 53), for early examples: "*a fig For* all my uncle's friendship" (Marlowe, *Edward II.*, Dyce, 207, a). The "claret-wine" of the *Contention* occurs later, IV. vi. 4, in the revised play, where the *Contention* has "red wine."

87, 88. *I will take my death*] I will die on it. See *3 Henry VI.* I. iii. 35, "Take one's death" of cold, and is common provincially. Not again in Shakespeare.

90. *downright blow*] Warburton (followed by Steevens) inserted into his

York. Dispatch: this knave's tongue begins to double.
Sound, trumpets, alarum to the combatants.
[*Alarum. They fight, and Peter strikes him down.*
Hor. Hold, Peter, hold! I confess, I confess treason. [*Dies.*
York. Take away his weapon. Fellow, thank God, and
the good wine in thy master's way.
Peter. O God! have I overcome mine enemies in this
presence? O Peter! thou hast prevailed in right.
King. Go, take hence that traitor from our sight;
For by his death we do perceive his guilt:
And God in justice hath revealed to us
The truth and innocence of this poor fellow,
Which he had thought to have murdered wrongfully.
Come, fellow, follow us for thy reward.
[*Sound a flourish. Exeunt.*

looke you, I will tell you my minde, for I am come hither as it were of my mans instigation, to proue my selfe an honest man, and Peter a knave, and so haue at you Peter with down-right blowes, as Beuys of South-hampton fell vpon Askapart. 91, 92. *York. Dispatch . . . combatants*] omitted Q. [*Alarum . . . down.*] 93. *Hor. Hold . . . treason.* [*Dies.*] 68-70. *Peter. Law you now, I told you hees in his fence alreadie. Alarmes, and Peter hits him on the head and fels him. Armou. Hold Peter, I confesse, Treason, treason. He dies.* 94, 95. *York. Take . . . way*] omitted Q. 96, 97. *Peter. O God . . . right*] 71, 72. *Peter. O God I giue thee praise. He kneeles downe. Pren. Ho well done Peter. God saue the King.* 98-103. *King. Go take . . . reward. Exeunt*] 73-78. *King. Go take . . . reward. Exet omnis* (*murthered* for *murder'd*, 102).

edition the words about Bevis and Ascapart from the *Contention*. The "downright blow" is not mentioned in that romance as belonging especially to Morglay, the famous sword of Bevis. Bevis is more often mentioned in contemporary literature than any of the heroes perhaps. See Todd's notes to Spenser, Laneham's *Letter* (or *Captain Cox*, edited Furnivall), Gabriel Harvey, Ben Jonson, etc. etc. "Downright blow" occurs again in *3 Henry VI.* I. i. 12. Cotgrave has "*aplomb:* m. A perpendicular, or downe-right fall, seat, or forme; a plumpe descent." See note in *3 Henry VI.* I. i. 12.

91. *to double*] to talk thick, or double, from intoxication. Peele has a similar expression:—

"Nemesis upon her *doubling* drum,
Mov'd with this ghastly moan"

(*Battle of Alcazar*, II. (425, a)). The sounds run into one another.

The incident in the play is founded on history. Grafton says (p. 628): "This Yere (The XXIIIJ Yere) an Armorers servaunt of London, appeled his Master of Treason, which offered to be tried by battaile. At the day assigned, the frends of the master, brought him Malmesye and Aqua vite to comforte him with all, but it was the cause of his and their discomfort: for he poured in so much, that when he came into the place in Smithfelde where he should fight, both his witte and strength fayled him: and so hee being a tall and hardie personage, overladed with hote drinkes, was vanquished of his seruaunt, being but a cowarde and a wretch, whose bodie was drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and behedded." Stow (*Survey of London*, edited by Thoms, p. 143) tells their names, "John David appeached his master Wil. Catur." He adds (omitting the dead body "drawen to Tiborne," etc.): "but that False servant (for he falsely accused his master) lived not long unpunished, for he was after hanged at Teyborne for felony. Let false accusers note this . . . John Davy, a false accuser of his master, of him was raised the by-word,—If ye serve me so, I will call you Davy."

SCENE IV.—*A street.*

Enter GLOUCESTER *and his Serving men, in mourning cloaks.*

Glou. Thus sometimes hath the brightest day a cloud;
And after summer evermore succeeds
Barren winter, with his wrathful nipping cold:
So cares and joys abound, as seasons fleet.
Sirs, what's o'clock?
Serv. Ten, my lord.
Glou. Ten is the hour that was appointed me

Enter . . .] *Enter Duke Humphrey and his men, in mourning cloakes.* 1-4. *Glou. Thus . . . fleet*] omitted Q. 5. *Sirs . . . lord*] 1, 2. *Humph. sirrha, what's a clock? Serving. Almost ten my Lord.* 6-9. *Ten is . . . tender-feeling feet*] 3-5. *Then is that wofull houre hard at hand, That my poore Lady should come by this way, In shamefull penance wandring in the streetes.*

For the sentence and punishment of the Duchess, see extract at the beginning of I. iv. Stowe gives further details (I quote from the *Abridgment* (1618), p. 172): "The ninth of November, dame Elianor appeared before the Archbishop and others and receiued penance, which she performed. On the xvii of November she came from the temple bridge, with a taper of waxe of two pound in her hand through Fleet streete to Paules, where she offered her Taper at the Alter. On the Wednesday next she went through Bridge-streete, Grace-church streete to Leaden-hall, and so to Christ-Church by Algate. On Friday she went through Cheape to St. Michaels in Cornehill, in form aforesaid."

mourning cloaks] from Q. The expression is not in Shakespeare. Peele has (*Old Wives Tale*, 451, b): "he gave fourscore and nineteen *mourning gowns* to the parish." Peele may have been, it seems to me, entrusted with the stage-directions in this play (*Contention*). They are very copious, and much condensed in the finished versions. Peele was the eldest of the syndicate at work, as far as publication goes, his *Arraignment at Paris* (1584) preceding any dramatic piece of Marlowe's or Greene's, so far as we know. Unusual attention was paid to stage-directions in that play as in his later work. Terms of interest occur that occur also in the plays undoubtedly due to the author. The arrangement of stage-direction would involve a good deal more of the dramatic craftsman.

1. *brightest day a cloud*] Compare *All's Well that End's Well*, v. iii. 35; or Sonnet 33.

2, 3. *summer . . . winter*] These simple sentiments or metaphors are constantly found in Shakespeare's work; the lines are not in the *Contention*. Compare *Spanish Tragedy*, I. i. 11, 12:—

"in the haruest of my *summer* ioyes
Deaths *winter* nipt the blossomes of my blisse."

3. *winter . . . nipping cold*] Compare Golding's *Ovid*, xiii. 954, 955 (1567):—

"No Sun in sommer there can swelt,
No *nipping cold* in wintertyme within the same is felt."

In the same passage Galatea is said to be "More fleeting than the waves"; and in bk. x. l. 596: "Away slippes fleeting time unspyde and mocks us too our face." Peele speaks of "the wrath of winter" in *David and Bethsabe* (Dyce, 468, b); and of "wrathful storms of winter's rage" (*Lovely London* (538, a), 1585). Spenser has "wrathful wreck" of "wintry storm" (*Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 21).

4. *fleet*] See last note. Shakespeare uses the verb "fleet" (slip away, float, glide by) several times, as in *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 108; IV. i. 135, etc.

6. *Ten is the hour*] The words in the *Contention* "*hard at hand*" point, like the rest of the lines of Humphrey's speech, to Peele. Shakespeare uses it once, it is true, in *Othello*, II. i. 268, But it was a favourite earlier with Peele:

To watch the coming of my punished duchess:
Uneath may she endure the flinty streets,
To tread them with her tender-feeling feet.
Sweet Nell, ill can thy noble mind abrook
The abject people gazing on thy face
With envious looks, laughing at thy shame,
That erst did follow thy proud chariot wheels
When thou didst ride in triumph through the streets.
But soft! I think she comes; and I 'll prepare
My tear-stained eyes to see her miseries.

Enter the Duchess of GLOUCESTER, *in a white sheet, feet bare, and a taper burning in her hand; with Sir* JOHN STANLEY, *the Sheriff, and Officers.*

Serv. So please your grace, we 'll take her from the sheriff.
Glou. No, stir not, for your lives; let her pass by.
Duch. Come you, my lord, to see my open shame?

10-14. *Sweet Nell . . . the streets*] 6-10. *Sweete Nell . . . the streetes.* 15, 16. *But soft! . . . miseries*] omitted Q. 16. *Enter . . . Officers*] Theobald (not in Ff). 10. *Enter Dame Elnor Cobham bare-foote, and a white sheet about her, with a waxe candle in her hand, and verses written on her backe and pind on, and accompanied with the Sheriffes of London, and Sir Iohn Standly, and Officers, with billes and holbards.* 17. *Serv. So . . . sheriff*] 11, 12. *Serving. My gratious Lord, see where my Lady comes, Please it your grace, weele . . . Sheriffes?* 18. *No . . . by*] 13-15. *I charge you for your liues stir not a foote, Nor offer once to draw a weapon here, But let them do their office as they should.* 19, 20. *Come . . . Now thou . . . too*] 16, 17. *Come . . . Ah Gloster, now . . . too* (*doest* for *dost*).

"here hard At hand two slaves do work and dig for gold" (*Old Wives Tale*, Dyce, 453, a); and "How Greeks with all their power were hard at hand" (*Tale of Troy* (555, a)); and in *Polyhymnia* (572, b). And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. iii.: "The king your brother, is now hard at hand." And in Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 18: "hard at hand they spy That quicksand." In all the places I have met with the phrase, it means close by in place. But in *Othello* and here in *Contention* it refers to time. In *Faerie Queene* (later), VI. ix. 16, "night arrived hard at hand," is parallel.

8. *Uneath*] with difficulty, uneasily. Not again in Shakespeare, but especially in Spenser, from Chaucer downwards. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, ii. 378, 379:—

"Behold how Atlas ginnes to faint,
his shoulders though full strong,
Unneth are able to uphold the
sparkling Extree long."

Not in Q. For "flinty," see Part I. II. i. 27.

10. *abrook*] brook, endure. The prefix "a" is very commonly used as a poetical license by Spenser. Compare "agazed" in Part I.

12. *envious*] malicious, spiteful.

13. *erst*] formerly. Occurs in *As You Like It* and *Henry V.* Peele uses it frequently (Dyce, 464, b (twice); 471, a, etc.); and Spenser.

15. *But soft!*] This, and "soft!" occur perhaps fifty times in Shakespeare's undoubted work. We may take them as tests. "*Soft* you!" occurs in Greene, *George-a-Greene;* and in Peele, *Edward I.*: "*Soft* you now!" "*Soft* a while" and "*But soft*" are both in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*. Peele has "*soft* you, now"; "*but, soft* now"; "Nay, *soft*."

16. *tear stained*] Elsewhere "*tear-stained* face" is in *Arden of Feversham*, III. vi. 85. Shakespeare has given us "blood-stained" (*1 Henry IV.*) and "lust-stained" (*Othello*). Not in Q.

19. *open shame*] public disgrace. Shakespeare has the expression again in

Now thou dost penance too. Look! how they gaze.
See! how the giddy multitude do point,
And nod their heads, and throw their eyes on thee.
Ah! Gloucester, hide thee from their hateful looks,
And, in thy closet pent up, rue my shame,
And ban thine enemies, both mine and thine.

Glou. Be patient, gentle Nell; forget this grief.

Duch. Ah! Gloucester, teach me to forget myself;
For whilst I think I am thy married wife,
And thou a prince, protector of this land,
Methinks I should not thus be led along,
Mailed up in shame, with papers on my back,
And followed with a rabble that rejoice

20-25. *Look . . . thine*] 18-22. *See how the giddie people looke at thee, Shaking their heads, and pointing at thee heere, Go get thee gone, and hide thee from their sights, And in thy pent vp studie rue . . . enemies. Ah mine and thine.* 26. *Be patient . . . grief*] 23, 24. *Ah Nell, sweet Nell, forget this extreme grief, And beare it patiently to ease thy heart.* 27, 28. *Ah . . . married wife*] 25-27. *Ah . . . wedded wife, Then thought of this doth kill my wofull heart.* 29. *And . . . land*] omitted Q. 30, 31. *Methinks . . . back*] 31, 32. *And thus with burning Tapor in my hand, Malde . . . backe.* 32, 33. *And . . . deep-fet groans*] omitted Q.

Lucrece, 890; and in *Comedy of Errors*, IV. iv. 70. In Hebrews vi. 6: "put him to an *open shame*" ("scorn" in Wyclif). But it is found in the third book of Golding's *Ovid* (328, 329): "Now (with a mischiefe) she is bagd and beareth out before Hir *open shame*," whence probably it became familiar. This expression has eluded my search in *New Eng. Dict.*

21. *giddy*] See Part III. IV. viii. 5.

22. *nod their heads*] a nod, or to nod. Occurs several times in Shakespeare in the sense of a contemptuous gesture or grimace.

24. *closet*] Altered from "study" in *Contention*. We have had "study" already in a passage, not in Q and undoubtedly Shakespeare's (I. iii. 62): "whose study is his tilt-yard." Shakespeare is often as careful to avoid repetition as Peele and Greene were to adopt it. Having used the word in his earlier insertion, he was careful to remove it from occurring so soon again.

24. *pent up*] See *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 160; and Part III. I. iii. 12.

31. *Mailed up*] packed up, made up into a parcel like a mail-bag or wallet. The "up" is a frequent addition by Shakespeare to verbs already implying completeness or finality, to render them more so. Compare "poisons up" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 305); "finish up" (*3 Henry VI.* II. v. 28); "kill them up" (*As You Like It*, II. i. 62); and "eat up," "drink up," "kill up," in several passages. Drayton uses this line in his *Heroical Epistles*, 1598. I purposely refrain from transcribing further from Drayton, since these *Epistles* constantly reproduce the thoughts and words of Shakespeare, on whose situations they are founded. The verb to mail had a special hawking sense. Dyce quotes from Randle Holmes's *Academy of Armory*: "'Mail a hawk' is to wrap her up in a handkerchief or other cloth, that she may not be able to stir her wings or to struggle." [See "muster up," III. i. 319.] Peele has "shrined up in mould" in *Sir Clyomon* (522, a), *circa* 1580.

31. *with papers*] See *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 45, and note, Arden edition, p. 87. But the *Contention* stage-direction (line 16 above) is the best comment. The papers narrating the culprit's offence were part of the public penance.

32. *followed with*] Compare *King Lear*, II. iv. 255: "But kept a reservation to be *follow'd With* such a number." Seems to be the only legitimate parallel.

To see my tears and hear my deep-fet groans.
The ruthless flint doth cut my tender feet,
And when I start, the envious people laugh,
And bid me be advised how I tread.
Ah! Humphrey, can I bear this shameful yoke?
Trow'st thou that e'er I 'll look upon the world,
Or count them happy that enjoy the sun?
No; dark shall be my light, and night my day;
To think upon my pomp shall be my hell.
Sometime I 'll say, I am Duke Humphrey's wife,
And he a prince and ruler of the land:
Yet so he ruled and such a prince he was
As he stood by whilst I, his forlorn duchess,
Was made a wonder and a pointing-stock
To every idle rascal follower.
But be thou mild and blush not at my shame;
Nor stir at nothing till the axe of death
Hang over thee, as, sure, it shortly will;
For Suffolk, he that can do all in all

34-36. *The . . . tread*] 28-30. *The ruthlesse flints do . . . cruell people . . . And bids . . . tread.* 37. *Ah . . . yoke*] 33. *Ah, Gloster, can I endure this and liue.* 38-41. *Trow'st thou . . . my hell*] omitted Q. 42, 43. *Sometime . . . ruler of the land*] 34, 35. *Sometime . . . Protector of the land.* 44, 45. *Yet so . . . Duchess*] 36, 37. *But so . . . Duches.* 46, 47. *Was . . . pointing-stock, To . . . follower*] 38, 39. *Was led with shame, and made a laughing stocke, To . . . rascald follower.* 47, 48. Additional speech] 40-43. *Humphrey. My louely Nell, what wouldst thou haue me do? Should I attempt to rescue thee from hence, I should incurre the danger of the law, And thy disgrace would not be shadowed so.* 48-50. *But be . . . will*] 44-46. *Elnor. Be thou milde and stir not at my disgrace Vntill the axe of death hang ouer thy head As shortly sure it will.* 51. *he that can*] 46, 47. *he, The new-made Duke, that may.*

33. *deep-fet*] deep-fetched. Compare *Henry V.* III. i. 18; and "far-fet," below, III. i. 293. A familiar archaic form, living long in proverbs, such as "far fet and dear bought is good for ladies." The author of *Arden of Feversham* (Kyd) remembered this expression: "What pity-moving words, what *deep-fetched* sighs" (III. i.) [See Crawford's *Collectanea*, pp. 121, 122.]

34. *ruthless flint*] Peele has the same thought in *David and Bethsabe:* "to cast thee on her (Israel's) *ruthless stones*" (Dyce, 475, a). See *Spanish Tragedy*, III. vii. 71: "Wearing the *flints* with these my withered feet."

35. *envious*] malicious, ill-natured.

36. *bid me be advised*] See *Richard III.* II. i. 107. Be deliberate, cautious.

46. *wonder*] disgraceful exhibition. Compare Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 507: "The people . . . stoode as they had bene turned into stones for *wonder* of this shamefull sermond." Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (466, b), where the clouds "bear this *wonder* round about the world," the tale of Thamar's dishonour and disgrace.

46. *pointing-stock*] butt. See note at "flouting-stock" ("vlouting-stog") in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. ii. 119 (Arden edition, p. 118). It is an improvement here to read this instead of "laughing-stock." Sidney has "gazing-stock" (*Arcadia*); and Gascoigne has "mocking stocke" in *The Steele Glas* (Arber, p. 65), 1576.

51. *do all in all*] See again *Richard III.* III. i. 168. "All in all" occurs elsewhere several times in Shakespeare. Compare *Three Ladies of London* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 249), 1584: "'Tis Lucre now that rules the rout; 'tis she is *all in all.*" And Barnaby

With her that hateth thee, and hates us all,
And York, and impious Beaufort, that false priest,
Have all limed bushes to betray thy wings;
And, fly thou how thou canst, they 'll tangle thee:
But fear not thou, until thy foot be snared,
Nor never seek prevention of thy foes.

Glou. Ah! Nell, forbear: thou aimest all awry;
I must offend before I be attainted;
And had I twenty times so many foes,
And each of them had twenty times their power,
All these could not procure me any scath,
So long as I am loyal, true, and crimeless.
Would'st have me rescue thee from this reproach?
Why, yet thy scandal were not wiped away,
But I in danger for the breach of law.
Thy greatest help is quiet, gentle Nell:
I pray thee, sort thy heart to patience;
These few days' wonder will be quickly worn.

Enter a Herald.

Her. I summon your grace to his majesty's parliament, holden at Bury the first of this next month.

52. *hateth thee*] 48. *loues him so.* 53. *York . . . Beaufort*] 49. *impious Yorke and Bewford.* 54, 55. *Have . . . thee*] 50, 51. *Have . . . can they will intangle thee.* 56-69. *But fear . . . quickly worn*] omitted Q. (Gloucester speaks above, 47, 48.) See below, 63-65. 64-66. *Would'st have . . . law*] 40-43. (above at 47, 48). 69. *worn. Enter a Herald*] 51. *intangle thee. Enter a Herald of Armes.* 70, 71. *I . . . month*] 52, 53. *I . . . vnto his highnesse . . . saint Edmunds-Bury, the first of the next month.*

Googe's *Popish Kingdom* (reprint, p. 36), 1570: "Shee is *all in all*, and heares and sees what can be done or thought."

52. *her that hateth thee*] An interesting alteration from the *Contention* reading. See note above (iii. 28, 39), showing how the queen's hatred is developed in the finished play.

54. *limed bushes*] See note at I. iii. 31.

57. *seek prevention*] look for hindrance. The foregoing speech is pregnant with interest. It is (in the *Contention*) probably some of Shakespeare's earliest work, rewritten and perfected to this beautiful form. Both are obviously and undoubtedly Shakespeare's.

58. *aimest all awry*] Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw*:—

"And if I take my *aim not all awry*,
The Multitude," etc.

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 384).

59. *attainted*] See *1 Henry VI.* II. iv. 96. Compare Peele, *Arraignment of Paris*, IV. i.:—

"I bring the man whom he did late *attaint*,
To answer his indictment orderly" (365, a).

62. *scath*] injury, damage. Elsewhere in *King John*, *Richard III.* and *Titus Andronicus*.

63. *crimeless*] There was a vogue amongst writers, especially dramatists (Peele, Marlowe), for coining words with *-less*. Part I., Introduction.

67. *Thy greatest help*] Johnson says here: "The poet has not endeavoured to raise much compassion for the duchess, who indeed suffers but what she had deserved. Shakespeare's two earliest women, if these be they, are not attractive."

69. *few days' wonder*] A reference to

Glou. And my consent ne'er asked herein before!
This is close dealing. Well, I will be there.
[*Exit Herald.*
My Nell, I take my leave: and, Master sheriff,
Let not her penance exceed the king's commission.
Sher. An 't please your grace, here my commission stays,
And Sir John Stanley is appointed now
To take her with him to the Isle of Man.
Glou. Must you, Sir John, protect my lady here?
Stan. So am I given in charge, may 't please your grace.
Glou. Entreat her not the worse in that I pray
You use her well. The world may laugh again;
And I may live to do you kindness if
You do it her: and so, Sir John, farewell.
Duch. What! gone, my lord, and bid me not farewell.
Glou. Witness my tears, I cannot stay to speak.
[*Exeunt Gloucester and Servingmen.*
Duch. Art thou gone too? All comfort go with thee!

72, 73. *And . . . there*] 54-56. *A Parliament and our consent neuer craude Therein before. This is sodeine. Well, we will be there. Exet Herald.* 74, 75. *My Nell . . . commission*] 57, 58. *Maister Sheriffe, I pray proceede no further against my Lady, then the course of law extendes* (prose). 76-78. *An 't please . . . Man*] 59-61. *Please it your grace, my office here doth end, And I must deliuer her to Sir Iohn Standly, To be conducted into . . . Man.* 79. *protect*] 62. *conduct my lady?* 80. *Stan. So . . . grace*] 63, 64. *Standly. I my gratious Lord, for so it is decreede. And I am so commanded by the King.* 81, 82. *Entreat . . . well*] 65, 66. *I pray you Sir Iohn, Vse her neare the worse, In that I intreat you to vse her well.* 82-84. *The . . . laugh . . . kindness . . . farewell*] 67-69. *The . . . smile . . . favour . . . farewell.* 85, 86. *What . . . me not . . . tears . . . to speake*] 70, 71. *What . . . not me . . . bleeding heart . . . to speake. Exet Humphrey and his men.* 87-93. *Art thou . . . commanded*] 72-75. *Then is he gone, is noble Gloster gone, And doth Duke Humphrey now forsake me too? Then let me haste from out faire England's boundes, Come Standly come, and let vs haste away.*

the old saying "a nine days' wonder"; see again *3 Henry VI.* III. ii. 113, 114, and *As You Like It*, III. ii. 185. The proverbial phrase is in Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida* (iv. l. 588), and in Heywood's *Proverbs*, 1546 (ed. Sharman, p. 90).

73. *close dealing*] secret contriving or plotting. A favourite use with Shakespeare. He has hard dealing, bad dealing, open dealing, elsewhere. Here Q has "This is sudden," as in *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 83.

75, 76. *king's commission*] royal or state warrant, or instrument. A favourite term with Shakespeare. He uses it most often of an unpleasant use or unpopular exercise of authority, as it is here. In his early days he is believed to have had an unpleasant experience of "the commission." See Introduction to *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Arden edition). The word is not in the *Contention*. Compare:—

"He hath *commission* from my wife
and me
To hang Cordelia"

(*King Lear*, v. iii. 3, 252). Compare Grafton, i. 338: "It was aunswered by the Englishe Ambassadors, that their *commission* stretched not so farre, neyther that their Prince had geuen them any suche aucthoritie." And *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 379): "thou goest beyond the *commission* of the king" (to a collector of tasks).

82. *The world may laugh again*] better times may be in store. Why alter "smile"?

For none abides with me: my joy is death;
Death, at whose name I oft have been afeard,
Because I wished this world's eternity.
Stanley, I prithee, go, and take me hence;
I care not whither, for I beg no favour,
Only convey me where thou art commanded.
Stan. Why, madam, that is to the Isle of Man;
There to be used according to your state.
Duch. That's bad enough, for I am but reproach:
And shall I then be used reproachfully?
Stan. Like to a duchess, and Duke Humphrey's lady:
According to that state you shall be used.
Duch. Sheriff, farewell, and better than I fare,
Although thou hast been conduct of my shame.
Sher. It is my office; and, madam, pardon me.
Duch. Ay, ay, farewell; thy office is discharged.
Come, Stanley, shall we go?
Stan. Madam, your penance done, throw off this sheet,
And go we to attire you for our journey.
Duch. My shame will not be shifted with my sheet:
No; it will hang upon my richest robes,
And show itself, attire me how I can.
Go, lead the way; I long to see my prison.
[*Exeunt.*

94-101. *Why, madam . . . my shame*] omitted Q. 105, 106. *Madam . . . journey*] 76, 77. *Madam lets go vnto some house hereby, Where you may shifte your selfe before we go.* 107-110. *My shame . . . prison*] 78-81. *Ah, good Sir Iohn, my shame cannot be hid, Nor put away with casting off my sheete, But come let vs go, maister Sheriffe farewell, Thou hast but done thy office as thou shoulst. Exet omnes.*

89. *afeard*] Nearly as common as "afraid" in Shakespeare.

90. *I wished . . . eternity*] Compare iii. 46, above. The Duchess is apparently a very would-be-young and worldly woman.

101. *conduct*] conductor, guide. See *Romeo and Juliet*, III. i. 129; v. iii. 116.

106. *go we*] See note at II. ii. 59 above. And in Part I. II. i. 13. Much commoner in the historical plays than elsewhere. A mannerism grown out of later.

110. *I long to see my prison*] "One of those touches that certainly came from the hand of Shakespeare . . . not in the old play" (Malone).

110. *come let 's go*] in Q. See above at the end of II. ii.

ACT III

SCENE I.—*The Abbey at Bury St. Edmunds.*

Sound a sennet. Enter KING, MARGARET, BEAUFORT, SUFFOLK, YORK, BUCKINGHAM, SALISBURY, *and* WARWICK, *to the Parliament.*

King. I muse my Lord of Gloucester is not come:
'Tis not his wont to be the hindmost man,
Whate'er occasion keeps him from us now.
Queen. Can you not see? or will ye not observe
The strangeness of his altered countenance?
With what a majesty he bears himself,
How insolent of late he is become,
How proud, how peremptory, and unlike himself?
We know the time since he was mild and affable,

Sound a sennet . . . Parliament] *Enter to the Parlament, Enter two Heralds before, then the Duke of Buckingham, and the Duke of Suffolke, and then the Duke of Yorke, and the Cardinall of Winchester, and then the King and the Queene, and then the Earle of Salisbury, and the Earle of Warwicke.* 1-3. *King. . . . I wonder . . . long*] 1. *King. I wonder our Vnkle Gloster staies so long.* 4. *Can . . . observe*] 2. *Can . . . you not perceiue.* 5-8. *The . . . himself*] 3. *How that ambitious Duke doth use himselfe?* 9. *We know . . . affable*] 3, 4. *The time hath bene, but now that time is past, That none so humble as Duke Humphrey was.*

1. *I muse*] I wonder. Shakespeare is fond of this opening. He has it in *Coriolanus*, *Richard III.*, *King John*, *2 Henry IV.* and *1 Henry VI.* II. ii. 19. Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 19:—

> "much *I muse*
> How that same knight should doe so fowle amis."

And Peele, *Sir Clyomon* (504, a):—

> "but much *I muse*, indeed,
> What he means to do."

Boswell Stone quotes here from Hardyng's *Chronicle* (1461), in proof of Gloucester's altered demeanour (which was to be expected):—

> "He waxed then straunge eche day unto ye kyng,
> For cause she was foriudged for sossery,
> For enchaunmentees, that she was in workyng
> Agayne the churche and kyng cursedly,
> By helpe of one mayster Roger Oonly:
> And into Wales he went of frowardnesse
> And to the kyng had greate heuynesse"

(Ellis, 400, 1812).

9. *affable*] Hardly inco mmon use; "affability" is oftener met with. "*Affable* and curteous at meales" (Puttenham (Arber, p. 298), 1586-1589). Not in Q; four times in Shakespeare.

And if we did but glance a far-off look,
Immediately he was upon his knee,
That all the court admired him for submission:
But meet him now, and, be it in the morn,
When every one will give the time of day,
He knits his brow and shows an angry eye,
And passeth by with stiff unbowed knee,
Disdaining duty that to us belongs.
Small curs are not regarded when they grin,
But great men tremble when the lion roars;
And Humphrey is no little man in England.
First note that he is near you in descent,
And should you fall, he is the next will mount.
Me seemeth then it is no policy,
Respecting what a rancorous mind he bears,
And his advantage following your decease,
That he should come about your royal person
Or be admitted to your highness' council.
By flattery hath he won the commons' hearts,
And when he please to make commotion,
'Tis to be feared they all will follow him.

10-12. *And if . . . submission*] omitted Q. 13, 14. *But . . . day*] 6, 7. *But now let one meete him euen in . . . day.* 15-19. *He knits . . . lion roars*] 8-12. *And he will neither moue nor speake to vs. See you not how the Commons follow him In troupes, crying, God saue the good Duke Humphrey, And with long life, Iesus preserve his grace* (this line omitted 1619 Q), *Honouring him as if he were their King.* 20. *And . . . England*] 13. *Gloster is no litle . . . England.* 21-28. *First note . . . commons' hearts*] omitted Q. 29, 30. *And when . . . him*] 14, 15. *And if he list to stir commotions, Tys likely that the people . . . him.*

10. *far-off*] indistinct, doubtful, uncertain. Compare "*afar off*," *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. i. 215 (note, Arden edition, p. 22). Both expressions are frequent in the Bible.

14. *give the time of day*] the day's greeting, good-morrow. Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 339: "All hail, sweet madame, and fair *time of day!*" A rattling salutation. See P. Stubbs, *A Perfect Pathway to Felicitie*, 1592: "When thou goest forth of thy chamber salute thy bedfellow (if thou hast anie) *giving him the time of day*, and in meeting others doe the like for so civilitie requireth."

18. *curs*] Used contemptuously of human beings many times by Shakespeare. Compare Greene, *Arbasto* (Grosart, iii. 236), 1584: "Doest thou thinke with the spaniell by fawning when thou art beaten to make thy foe thy friend? no, let others deeme of thee what they list, I will still compt thee a *curre*." And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. IV. 1: "ye cankered *curs* of Asia."

18. *grin*] show the teeth. Compare Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. 5: "legions of devils . . . *grin* with their teeth."

20. *Humphrey is no little man*] Very much the reverse. Akin to the use (ironical) in "here's no knavery," "here's no vanity," etc. The passage in the *Contention* preceding these words, which is omitted in our text, has occurred before in both texts in almost identical words at I. i. 156-160 above; and see ll. 190, 191 in the same scene. Hence the omission here. But these repetitions have not been always erased. There is a noteworthy example immediately below, at "cold news" (ll. 87, 88).

29. *make commotion*] See below, III. i. 358. To raise an insurrection.

Now 'tis the spring, and weeds are shallow-rooted;
Suffer them now and they 'll o'ergrow the garden,
And choke the herbs for want of husbandry.
The reverent care I bear unto my lord
Made me collect these dangers in the duke.
If it be fond, call it a woman's fear;
Which fear if better reasons can supplant,
I will subscribe and say I wronged the duke.
My Lord of Suffolk, Buckingham, and York,
Reprove my allegation if you can;
Or else conclude my words effectual.
Suf. Well hath your highness seen into this duke;
And had I first been put to speak my mind,
I think I should have told your grace's tale.
The duchess by his subornation,
Upon my life, began her devilish practices:
Or if he were not privy to those faults,
Yet, by reputing of his high descent,

31-35. *Now 'tis . . . duke*] omitted Q. 36. *If . . . fear*] 16, 17. *My Lorde, if you imagine there is no such thing, Then let it passe, and call . . . fear.* 37, 38. *Which . . . duke*] 20, 21. *And by your speeches if you can reproue me, I will . . . Duke.* 39, 40. *My lord . . . can;*] 18, 19. *My Lord . . . Disproue my Alligations . . . can.* 41. *Or . . . effectual*] omitted Q. 42-44. *Well hath . . . tale*] 22-24. *Well . . . grace foreseen . . . that Duke, And if I had bene licenst first to speake, I thinke . . . tale.* 45-52. *The duchess . . . fall*] omitted Q.

31-33. *weeds . . . choke the herbs*] Compare *Richard II.* III. iv. 42-44. And Peele, *Edward I.* (Dyce, 407, a):—

"O gracious fortune, that me happy made
To spoil the *weed that chokes* fair Cambria!"

35. *collect*] gather. Shakespeare's thoughts are still in the garden, whence he loved to draw imagery. See *Hamlet*, III. ii. 268; IV. vii. 175.

36. *fond*] foolish. For the omitted expression "let it pass," see *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. i. 90. "Let that pass" is much commoner. See Arden edition of *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. i. 93, note, p. 118.

38. *subscribe*] yield, admit I am wrong. Compare Part I. II. iv. 44, and *King Lear*, III. vii. 65. Compare Greene, *Never too Late* (Grosart, viii. 170):—

"Thus he whom love and errour did betray,
Subscribes to thee, and takes the better way."

But with "to" it is frequent.

40. *Reprove*] disprove, confute. See *Venus and Adonis*, 787, and *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. iii. 241. The *Contention* reads "disprove." *New Eng. Dict.* brings this word back to Chaucer, *Boethius*, in this sense.

40. *allegation*] assertion. Only once again in Shakespeare (in the legal sense which is eldest), below, at l. 181. It is used by Greene, *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (Grosart, xi. 226): "Whereas thou doost boast that I am little regarded . . . I grant thy *allegation* in part, but not in whole."

41. *effectual*] "to the point, pertinent, conclusive" (*New Eng. Dict.*, which gives this passage as earliest in the obsolete sense). Not in the *Contention*. The queen's speech affords another excellent study in development. Her character, the king's, and the characters of the Gloucesters seem to have interested Shakespeare and been entrusted to him. He doubles her speech here.

45. *subornation*] instigation to crime: a transferred use from the proper sense of procurement for perjury, or perjury itself. See below, line 145; and *1 Henry IV.* I. iii. 163.

48. *reputing of*] thinking of (Introduction). An uncommon use. See

As next the king he was successive heir,
And such high vaunts of his nobility,
Did instigate the bedlam brain-sick duchess
By wicked means to frame our sovereign's fall.
Smooth runs the water where the brook is deep,
And in his simple show he harbours treason.
The fox barks not when he would steal the lamb:
No, no, my sovereign; Gloucester is a man
Unsounded yet, and full of deep deceit.
Car. Did he not, contrary to form of law,
Devise strange deaths for small offences done?
York. And did he not, in his protectorship,
Levy great sums of money through the realm
For soldiers' pay in France, and never sent it?
By means whereof the towns each day revolted.
Buck. Tut! these are petty faults to faults unknown,
Which time will bring to light in smooth Duke Humphrey.

53. *Smooth . . . deep*] 25. *Smooth . . . brooke whereas the streame is deepest.* 54. *And . . . treason*] omitted Q. 55. *The fox . . . lamb*] 121. *The foxe . . . lambe* (later speech of Suffolk). 56, 57. *No, no . . . deceit*] 26, 27. *No, no . . . deceit.* 58-81. *Did he not . . . fraudful man*] omitted Q. (lines 64, 65, the latter identical, are given to Cardinal, Q 1, i. 101, 102).

New Eng. Dict. It occurs in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels.*

49. *successive heir*] So in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. I: "son and *successive heir* to the late mighty emperor Bajazeth." Kyd has "successive line" in the *Spanish Tragedy*, III. i. 14. See *Titus Andronicus*, I. i. 4.

51. *bedlam*] frantic. See below, v. i. 132. "Like a bedlam" occurs three times in Golding's *Ovid:* "lyke a *bedlem* with her toong" (ix. 757). For "brainsick" see Part I. IV. i. 3 (note).

53. *Smooth runs the water*] Lyly gives us this proverb (often varied later to "still water," etc.) earlier: "Where the stream *runs smoothest the water* is deepest" (*Euphues* (Arber, p. 287), 1580); and in *Sapho and Phao*, II. iv.: "water runneth smoothest, where it is deepest" (1584). It is frequent later. Of the many similes in these speeches, to the entry of Somerset with his cold news, this is the only one in the *Contention.*

54. *harbours*] makes a home for, entertains. See IV. vii. 109, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii. 42.

55. *fox . . . lamb*] The fox and lamb occur in a variety of adages and fables; in Shakespeare they are coupled in *Measure for Measure*, v. i. 300; *Troilus and Cressida*, III. ii. 200; *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 331, etc. The nearest sentiment to the one here I can recall is in Greene's *Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 27): "The *Foxe* wins the favour of the *lambes* by play, and then deuoures them."

57. *Unsounded*] in the literal sense, in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. ii. 81.

58, 59. *contrary to . . . law . . . small offences*] This is a repetition of Buckingham's charge (I. iii. 130-132). And yet once more below, by York, ll. 121-123.

61, 62. *money . . . pay in France*] The queen broached these French accusations already (I. iii. 133-135). And see the charges collected again in Gloucester's reply below, ll. 107-118, where the taxing ("racking," *Contention*) of the Commons is mentioned again from I. iii. 125, 126, the cardinal's accusation. The developed play has enhanced these repetitions in a very inartistic way. See the notes at I. iii. 210, 211, and III. i. 292.

64, 65. *faults . . . smooth Duke Humphrey*] Repeated (but not in the *Contention*) from I. i. 101, 102.

King. My lords, at once: the care you have of us,
To mow down thorns that would annoy our foot,
Is worthy praise; but shall I speak my conscience,
Our kinsman Gloucester is as innocent
From meaning treason to our royal person,
As is the sucking lamb or harmless dove.
The duke is virtuous, mild, and too well given
To dream on evil, or to work my downfall.
Queen. Ah! what 's more dangerous than this fond affiance.
Seems he a dove? his feathers are but borrowed,
For he 's disposed as the hateful raven:
Is he a lamb? his skin is surely lent him,
For he 's inclined as is the ravenous wolf.
Who cannot steal a shape that means deceit?
Take heed, my lord; the welfare of us all
Hangs on the cutting short that fraudful man.

67. *annoy*] injure. See *Henry V.* II. ii. 102, and elsewhere.

68. *speak my conscience*] tell my sincere belief in what is true. See *Henry V.* IV. i. 123, where the expression occurs again. And in *Menechmi*, II. i. (Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*, Part II. vol. i. p. 11): "Wel yet I must *speake my conscience*." *New Eng. Dict.* has an example of "tell my conscience" earlier, from Foxe.

71. *sucking lamb . . . harmless dove*] 1 Samuel vii. 9; Matthew x. 16. Naturally the king uses Biblical language. See the *Contention* below at III. ii. 19-22, and note.

72. *given*] addicted. Occurs half a dozen times so in Shakespeare, with an adverb as here.

73. *work my downfall*] See *Locrine*, v. 1: "And seek to *work her downfall* and decay."

74. *affiance*] confidence. Compare *Cymbeline*, I. vi. 163, and *Henry V.* II. ii. 127. Compare Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, II. iii.:—

> "when this haughty offer takes effect
> And works *affiance* in Sebastian."

And *The Troublesome Raigne of King John:* "There 's no *affiance* after perjury." Hall has it in this connection (XXV Yere): "Such *affiance* had he (Gloucester) in his strong truthe, and such confidence had he in indifferent iustice" (p. 209).

75, 76. *dove . . . raven*] Compare "a raven's heart within a dove" (*Twelfth Night*, v. i. 134).

77, 78. *lamb? his skin . . . wolf*] An ancient saying: "truste not these prechours, for thei be not good, ffor thei flatter and lye as thei wer wood; ther is a wolfe in a lombe skynne, ya, I wyll no more row a-geyn the fflode, I wyll sett my soule on a mery pynne" (*Digby Mysteries* (ed. Furnivall, pp. 155, 156), *circa* 1485). "Of trothe she is a wolfe in a lambe's skinne" (Heywood's *Proverbs* (ed. Sharman, p. 48), 1546). And Peele, *Sir Clyomon* (515, a): "For, like a wolf in lambskin clad, he cometh with his aid."

81. *cutting short*] Craig thinks a reference to shortening by the head (as in *Richard II.* III. iii. 12) is here intended. See note at "headless necks," I. ii. 65. "Shorter by the head" occurs in Marlowe's *Edward II.* (Dyce, 212, a). And in Grafton, i. 627: "He (Duke of Suffolke) . . . was taken upon the Sea and made *shorter* by the head." And see Hall, p. 275, quoted at *3 Henry VI.* IV. iii. 54. But I think it is merely the phrase "cut him off," as below: "bloody war shall cut them short" (IV. iv. 12). Exterminate him. But compare Lodge, *Wounds of Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 129):—

> "Enter the chamber where as Marius lies,
> And *cut him short;* the present of whose head
> Shall make the Romans praise us."

81. *fraudful*] "full of deep deceit" (line 57); treacherous. *New Eng. Dict.* brings this word back to 1400 in Scottish writers, Dunbar (1500-1520)

Enter SOMERSET.

Som. All health unto my gracious sovereign!
King. Welcome, Lord Somerset. What news from France?
Som. That all your interest in those territories
Is utterly bereft you: all is lost.
King. Cold news, Lord Somerset: but God's will be done!
York. [*Aside.*] Cold news for me; for I had hope of France
As firmly as I hope for fertile England.
Thus are my blossoms blasted in the bud,
And caterpillars eat my leaves away;
But I will remedy this gear ere long,
Or sell my title for a glorious grave.

82. *Enter Somerset. Som. All . . . sovereign!*] 27, 28. *Enter the Duke of Somerset.* 83. *King. Welcome . . . France?*] 28. *King. Welcome . . . France?* 84, 85. *Som. That . . . lost*] 29-31. *Somer. Cold newes, my lord, and this it is, That all your holds and Townes within those Territores, Is overcome, my Lord, all is lost.* 86. *Cold news, Lord . . . done*] 32, 33. *Cold newes indeed, Lord . . . done.* 87, 88. *Cold news . . . England*] 34, 35. *Cold newes . . . Euen as I have of fertill England* (these lines, reading *England's soil*, occur in both texts above, I. i. 235-236). 89-92. *Thus . . . grave*] omitted Q.

yielding an example. Shakespeare has several words, seemingly introduced from Scottish historians, in these plays. This term was immediately seized on by Kyd (?) in *Soliman and Perseda*, and (probably) by him also in *Arden of Feversham*. See Crawford's *Collectanea*, p. 129. See below at "slaughter-house," l. 212.

83. *Somerset. What news from France*] Somerset was appointed Regent of France (I. iii. 205). The *Contention* informs us at that point (ll. 158, 159) that he is to make haste for the time of truce is expired. At the yielding of Caen (1449, Hall) "The Duke of Somerset . . . made an agrement with the Frenche kyng, that he would rendre the toun so that he and all of his might depart in sauegard with all their goodes and substaunce; whiche offre the Frenche kyng gladly accepted . . . Sir Davie Hall . . . departed to Chierburgh and from thence sailed into Irelande to the Duke of Yorke, making relacion to hym . . . whiche thyng kyndeled so greate a rancoure in his harte & stomache that he never left persecutynge of the Duke of Somersette . . . Now rested English onely the toune of Chierburgh. . . . Thus was the riche duchie of Normandy lost ye whiche had continued in the englishmennes possession XXX. yeres, by the conquest of Kyng Henry the fifth . . . Other say, that the Duke of Somerset, for his owne peculiar profit, kept not halfe his nombre of souldiors, and put their wages in his purse" (Hall, pp. 215, 216).

85. *bereft you*] Similarly used in *Othello*, I. iii. 258.

86. *God's will be done*] A little earlier in Hall (212, 213): "Which mischiefes (while the kyng, as thinges of the world, and of no great moment, did neglect and omit, as he which preferred and extolled godly thinges aboue all worldly affaires . . .) dayly so muche increased . . . the French nacion knew in what case the realme of England stode."

87, 88. *Cold news . . . England*] Another repetition. See collation above; and see note, I. i. 235. Heywood has this expression in *If You Know Not Me*, Part II. (Pearson, vol. i. p. 293).

89. *blasted in the bud*] See *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. i. 48. "Blast" in this sense is frequent in Shakespeare. See reference to Golding's *Ovid* at Part III. IV. iv. 23. Peele has it frequently, as in *Battle of Alcazar*, II. iii. and I. ii. (425, b; 427, b), etc.

Enter GLOUCESTER.

Glou. All happiness unto my lord the king!
Pardon, my liege, that I have stayed so long.
Suf. Nay, Gloucester, know that thou art come too soon,
Unless thou wert more loyal than thou art.
I do arrest thee of high treason here.
Glou. Well, Suffolk, thou shalt not see me blush,
Nor change my countenance for this arrest:
A heart unspotted is not easily daunted.
The purest spring is not so free from mud
As I am clear from treason to my sovereign.
Who can accuse me? wherein am I guilty?
York. 'Tis thought, my lord, that you took bribes of France,
And, being protector, stayed the soldiers' pay;
By means whereof his highness hath lost France.
Glou. Is it but thought so? What are they that think it?
I never robbed the soldiers of their pay,
Nor ever had one penny bribe from France.
So help me God, as I have watched the night,
Ay, night by night, in studying good for England,
That doit that e'er I wrested from the king,

93, 94. *Enter Gloucester. Glou. All . . . long*] 35. *Enter Duke Humphrey. Hum. Pardon . . . long.* 95-97. *Nay . . . here*] 37-39. *Nay . . . proue more . . . We do . . . (on* for *of) here.* 98, 99. *Well, Suffolk . . . this arrest*] 40, 41. *Why Suffolkes, Duke . . . thine arrest.* 100-102. *A heart . . . sovereign*] omitted Q. 103. *Who . . . guilty?*] 42. *Whereof am I guilty, who are my accusers?* 104. *My lord that you*] 43. *My lord, your grace.* 105. *And, being protector, stay'd*] 44. *And stopt.* 106. *By . . . France*] 45. *By which his Maiestie hath lost all France.* 107. *Is it . . . What . . . it*] 46. *Is it . . . and who are they that thinke so?* 108. *I . . . pay*] 51. *I . . . . paie.* 109, 114. *Nor ever . . . France* (and) *Be . . . day*] 49, 50. *That penie that euer I tooke from France, Be brought against me at the iudgement day.* 110, 111. *So . . . night, Ay . . . England*] 47, 48. *So . . . night, Euer intending good for England still.* 112, 113. *That doit . . . use*] omitted Q.

97. *arrest thee of*] Occurs in *Richard II.*, *Henry IV.* (Part II.), *Henry V.* and *Henry VIII.* See below, v. i. 106. The *Contention* reads "on," as in *King Lear*, v. iii. 82. It occurs in Marlowe's *Edward II.*

98. *Suffolk*] Malone supplied "duke" from the old play for the sake of the metre, followed by some modern editors. Steevens added "yet" from the second folio.

100. *A heart unspotted*] Compare *1 Henry VI.* v. iii. 182. The expression occurs in Peele's sonnet, "His golden locks" (*Polyhymnia*, 1590):—

"But though from court to cottage he depart,
His saint is sure of his *unspotted heart*."

101. *spring . . . mud*] Compare Sonnet 35: "Roses have thorns and silver fountains *mud*." No one faultless. See also *Titus Andronicus*, v. ii. 171.

108. *robbed . . . soldiers of . . . pay*] This was expressly charged against Somerset. See l. 83 (extract).

112. *doit*] Occurs half a dozen times in Shakespeare. Not in *Contention*, which reads "penie." See note, on

Or any groat I hoarded to my use,
Be brought against me at my trial-day!
No; many a pound of mine own proper store,
Because I would not tax the needy commons,
Have I dispursed to the garrisons,
And never asked for restitution.
Car. It serves you well, my lord, to say so much.
Glou. I say no more than truth, so help me God!
York. In your protectorship you did devise
Strange tortures for offenders, never heard of,
That England was defamed by tyranny.
Glou. Why, 'tis well known that, whiles I was protector,
Pity was all the fault that was in me;
For I should melt at an offender's tears,
And lowly words were ransom for their fault.
Unless it were a bloody murderer,
Or foul felonious thief that fleeced poor passengers,

115. *No; many . . . store*] 52. *Many . . . cost.* 116. *tax*] 54. *racke.* 117. *Have I . . . garrisons*] 53. *Have I sent ouer for the soldiers wants.* 118. *And . . . restitution*] omitted Q. 119, 120. *Car. It serves . . . Glou. I say no . . .*] omitted Q. 121-123. *York. In your . . . tortures . . . never heard of, That . . . tyranny*] *Car. In your . . . torments . . . by which meanes England hath bene . . . tyrannie.* 124, 125. *Why . . . whiles . . . in me*] 58, 59. *Why . . . whilst . . . in me.* 126, 127. *For I . . . fault*] omitted Q. 128-132. *Unless it . . . trespass else*] 60-62. *A murtherer or foule felonous theefe, that robs and murthers silly passengers, I tortord aboue the rate of common law.*

this charge, at I. iii. 117 (from Polydore Vergil).

114. *trial-day!*] See *Richard II.* I. i. 151. "Judgment-day" of *Contention* was perhaps altered to give an air of justice to the arrest; Gloucester no doubt expected a trial, though he got none.

115. *own proper*] for "own proper cost" and "rack the commons" in this speech (in *Contention*), see I. i. 61 and I. iii. 131.

117. *dispursed*] The fourth Folio reads "disbursed." This is probably again from some Scottish chronicle. The only other example in *New Eng. Dict.* is from Scottish Acts, 1625-1640. For "garrisons," see Part I. v. iv. 168 (note).

121. *protectorship*] See II. i. 30, note.

121-123. *devise . . . tortures . . . tyranny*] See note at ll. 58, 59 above. "Defamed by tyranny"—by the report of tyranny. More properly with "of." Compare Grafton, i. 453: "That whereas . . . Gloucester . . . Arondell and . . . Warwike have bene defamed of Treason by certeyne of our counsaylors: We."

124. *whiles*] whilst. Not unfrequent in Shakespeare. It occurs in the *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 27: "*Whiles* cursed steele against that badge I bent."

129. *fleeced*] plundered. See *I Henry IV.* II. ii. 90. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from Holinshed, 1579. Greene has it once in *The Art of Conny-Catching* (Grosart, x. 28), 1591: "he laughs in his sleeue, thinking he hath *fleest* the barnacle of all."

129. *poor passengers*] poor wayfarers or travellers on foot. One of these foot-passengers meets with a crocodile just below (l. 227). "Poor passengers" and silly women are liable to outrages in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. i. 1; or "some unhappy passenger" is held in chase (*ibid.* v. iv. 15); or they are robbed (*Richard II.* v. iii. 9); or they perish from thirst (*Venus and Adonis*, 91). But they never have happy mention in Shakespeare, since everyone rode who was not prohibited by poverty. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, II. ii. 22, a bear and tiger give up their own quarrel to divide "a traveiler with feete surbet."

I never gave them condign punishment:
Murder indeed, that bloody sin, I tortured
Above the felon or what trespass else.
Suf. My lord, these faults are easy, quickly answered;
But mightier crimes are laid unto your charge,
Whereof you cannot easily purge yourself.
I do arrest you in his highness' name;
And here commit you to my lord cardinal
To keep, until your further time of trial.
King. My Lord of Gloucester, 'tis my special hope
That you will clear yourself from all suspense:
My conscience tells me you are innocent.
Glou. Ah! gracious lord, these days are dangerous.
Virtue is choked with foul ambition,
And charity chased hence by rancour's hand;
Foul subornation is predominant,
And equity exiled your highness' land.

133. *My lord . . . answered*] 63. *Tush my Lord, these be things of no account.* 134. *mightier crimes*] 64. *greater matters.* 135. *Whereof . . . yourself*] omitted Q. 136. *you in . . . name*] 64. *thee on high treason here.* 137. *Here commit you . . . lord*] 66. *commit thee . . . good Lord.* 138. *To . . . trial*] 67. *Untill such time as thou canst cleare thy selfe.* 139-141. *My Lord . . . innocent*] 68-70. *Good vnkle obey to his arrest, I haue no doubt but thou shalt cleare thy selfe My . . . thou art innocent.* 142. *Lord*] 71. *Henry.* 143-147. *Virtue . . . life*] omitted Q.

130. *condign*] well-deserved. See *Love's Labour 's Lost*, I. ii. 27. An old word, but not a favourite in poetry.

132. *felon*] Is "felon" used here in the early sense (*Cursor Mundi*) of felony? "Felonious" (l.129) replaces "felonous" of Q, a much earlier form, as in *Faerie Queene*, II. vii. 62: "And did acquite a murdrer *felonous*."

132. *what trespass else*] whatever other trespass. Compare *3 Henry VI.* III. i. 51. Peele has similar wording: "What dukedom, island, or province *else*, to me now are not tributary?" (*Sir Clyomon* (498, a)). Sir Climclam might do as name for this weary piece, which Peele may have touched up, but not redeemed.

136. *I do arrest you*] Suffolk says this twice in both texts. The *Contention* has "*arrest thee on*" each time.

140. *clear yourself*] A repetition of these words is saved in "purge yourself" above, l. 135.

140. *suspense*] "suspence" is the reading of the old editions. Capell altered it to "suspect," followed by modern editors, including Cambridge (2nd edition). "Suspense" (doubt) is not elsewhere in Shakespeare, so it may be well to quote a few parallels. "In suspense" occurs three times in the Geneva Version (1560), Luke iii. 15, xii. 29, and John x. 24. Spenser has it as an adjective, *Faerie Queene*, IV. vi. 34. J. Rider, *Bibliotheca Scholastica*, 1589, has it only "in suspense." Cotgrave as an adjective. Gabriel Harvey gives a good example: "They that know the daunger of Truces . . . must begge leave to ground their repose upon more cautels, then one: and to proceede in termes of *suspence*, or Pause, till they may be resolued with infallible assurance" (*A New Letter* (Grosart, i. 287), 1593). The fact of it occurring nowhere in Shakespeare is no argument. But as a biblical word it commended itself for the King's use. Moreover it is an object to avoid the repetitions of words so irksomely common with Greene, and not much less so with Peele. "Suspect" occurs a few lines below.

145. *subornation*] See above, line 45.

146. *exiled*] Not used without "from" elsewhere in Shakespeare.

I know their complot is to have my life;
And if my death might make this island happy,
And prove the period of their tyranny,
I would expend it with all willingness;
But mine is made the prologue to their play;
For thousands more, that yet suspect no peril,
Will not conclude their plotted tragedy.
Beaufort's red sparkling eyes blab his heart's malice,
And Suffolk's cloudy brow his stormy hate;
Sharp Buckingham unburthens with his tongue
The envious load that lies upon his heart;
And dogged York, that reaches at the moon,
Whose overweening arm I have plucked back,
By false accuse doth level at my life:

148-150. *And if . . . willingness*] 72, 73. *And would my death might end these miseries, And staie their moodes for good King Henries sake.* 151. *mine is*] 74. *I am.* 152, 153. *For thousands . . . tragedy*] 75, 76. *And thousands more must follow after me That dreads not yet their liues destruction.* 154. *Beaufort's . . . malice*] 78. *Bewfords firie eyes showes his envious minde.* 155. *And Suffolk's . . . hate*] 77. *Suffolkes hatefull tongue blabs his harts malice.* 156, 157. *Sharp Buckingham . . . heart*] 79. *Buckinghams proud looks bewraies this cruel thoughts.* 158, 159. *reaches at . . . pluck'd back*] 80, 81. *leuels up . . . held backe.* 160. *By . . . life*] omitted Q.

147. *complot*] The substantive is found elsewhere only in *Richard III.* and *Titus Andronicus;* the verb in *Richard II.* alone. Shakespeare found it in Holinshed, 1577 (see *New Eng. Dict.*). It occurs in *Selimus* and in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy.*

151. *prologue*] Compare Greene's *Farewell to Follie* (Grosart, ix. 249): "you sir, induce a souldiour as *prologue* to your comedie of pride, whereas you schollers ought to be formost in the scene"; and *Selimus* (xiv. 200):—

"But this his marriage with the Tartars daughter
Is but the *prologue* to his crueltie."

The alteration in this line is perhaps significant.

154. *blab his heart's malice*] Several of these trifling changes seem capricious, and even, as here, for the worse. It is better to speak of tongues blabbing, than of eyes. See *Twelfth Night*, I. ii. 63. And why transpose these personal traits of Beaufort, Suffolk and Buckingham? They are presumably imaginary. Certainly the rhythm is often improved.

155. *cloudy . . . stormy*] These words, used of persons and passions, are quite Shakespeare-like. "*Stormy* passions" is in *2 Henry IV.* I. i. 165. "*Cloudy*" in several places. "Furrowes of her *clouding* brow" occurs in *Soliman and Perseda.* Compare Spenser's "*stormy* wind Of malice" (*Faerie Queene*, II. vi. 8).

158. *dogged York*] "*dogged* war" occurs in *King John*, as does also "*dogged* spies" (IV. i. 129; IV. iii. 149). Peele has "Cerberus . . . the *dogged* fiend" in *Sir Clyomon* (492, b).

158. *reaches at the moon*] Compare *Pericles*, II. ii. 20. To cast beyond the moon was a common earlier expression.

160. *accuse*] This reminds one of Lodge, who takes an adjective or a verb and nouns it at his will. In *The Wounds of Civil War*, Lodge has the substantives resist, clear, repent, relent. Lodge has most of the tricks of his contemporaries, with a considerable fluency of language. But he is distinctly dull. Compare Osric's "assigns" (*Hamlet*, v. ii. 157).

160. *level at my life*] In *3 Henry VI.* II. ii. 19, occurs "Ambitious York did *level at thy crown.*" The change in l. 158 above to "reaches" was made to allow this line. Sometimes one feels as if the altering of so many words had the simple sordid explanation of proper costs and charges for such and such a quantity of reformation. See

And you, my sovereign lady, with the rest,
Causeless have laid disgraces on my head,
And with your best endeavour have stirred up
My liefest liege to be mine enemy.
Ay, all of you have laid your heads together;
Myself had notice of your conventicles,
And all to make away my guiltless life.
I shall not want false witness to condemn me,
Nor store of treasons to augment my guilt;
The ancient proverb will be well effected:
A staff is quickly found to beat a dog!

161. *And . . . rest*] 82. *And you my gratious Lady and soueraigne mistresse.* 162. *disgraces on*] 84. *complaints upon.* 163, 164. *And . . . enemy*] omitted Q. 165. *Ay . . . together*] 82. *All you have ioynd to betraie me thus.* 166, 167. *Myself . . . life*] omitted Q. 168, 169. *I . . . witness to condemn me, Nor . . . guilt*] 85, 86. *I . . . witnesses inough, That so amongst you, you may haue my life.* 170. *The . . . effected*] 87. *The Prouerbe no doubt will be well performed.* 171. *A . . . dog*] 88. *A . . . dog.*

Cunningham's *Revels Accounts* (Shakespeare Society), p. 92, 1574 (and often): "For his paines in perusing and Reformyng of plays."

162. *Causeless*] causelessly. A very old use.

164. *My liefest liege*] See I. i. 28. "Liefest" is not again in Shakespeare. Peele has "*My liefest lord* and sweetest sovereign" (*Edward I.*, Dyce, 388, b). Greene has "our *liefest liege*" and "*my liefest Lord*" in *James the Fourth* (Grosart, xiii. 303, 313). One of the many examples that might be adduced of Spenser's influence. "*My liefest liefe*" occurs in the *Faerie Queene*, III. ii. 33 (last words) and "*My liefest Lord*," II. ii. 30. Greene's *James the Fourth* is often quoted from in these notes. A passage at page 216 contains a reference to the pretty song "Love in my bosom like a bee" in Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacie* (1590), in the issuing of which I believe Greene had a hand:—

And weele I wot I heard a shepheard sing
That like a Bee, Love hath a little sting."

This gives a lower limit, 1590, for the date of the play.

165. *laid your heads together*] This expression is played upon by Marlowe, *Edward the Second* (Dyce, 206, b):—

"thou seest
These barons *lay their heads* on blocks together."

It occurs in the old play of *Leir*. Shakespeare has it again in *The Taming of the Shrew*, I. ii. 139. He may have taken it from Grafton, i. 155 (reprint, 1809), 1568: "But for all that, at the last they *laid all their heades together* and aduysed themselues howe and which way they might honestly submit them selues vnto the sayde Duke" (*William Conquerour*, The First Yere). See again, below, IV. viii. 57. This expression, as well as the following, have been adduced as proof of Marlowe's hand—mistakenly. Grafton has it in his *Continuation of Hardyng*, 1543, p. 458: "The quene counsayled theim all to *laye their heedes together*, and caste all the wayes."

166. *conventicles*] irregular or clandestine meetings of a supposed sinister character (*New Eng. Dict.*). Frequently so used in the Chronicles, Fabyan, Hall, Grafton, etc., and occurring at this particular juncture as here in Hall (37th Year): "The Erles of March and Warwicke, and other beyng at Calice, had knowledge of all these doynges and secrete *conuenticles*" (1809, p. 242).

167. *make away*] destroy. Compare *Venus and Adonis*, 763, and Sonnet 11, l. 8. It occurs in Marlowe's *Edward the Second*, II. ii. (quoted in *New Eng. Dict.*). Compare Edward's *Damon and Pythias* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, iv. 46), *ante* 1566:—

"To make means to them which can do much with Dionysius,
That he be not *made away*, ere his cause be fully heard."

170, 171. *ancient proverb . . . A*

Car. My liege, his railing is intolerable.
If those that care to keep your royal person
From treason's secret knife and traitors' rage
Be thus upbraided, chid, and rated at,
And the offender granted scope of speech,
'Twill make them cool in zeal unto your grace.
Suf. Hath he not twit our sovereign lady here
With ignominious words, though clerkly couched,
As if she had suborned some to swear
False allegations to o'erthrow his state?
Queen. But I can give the loser leave to chide.
Glou. Far truer spoke than meant: I lose, indeed;
Beshrew the winners, for they played me false!
And well such losers may have leave to speak.
Buck. He 'll wrest the sense and hold us here all day.
Lord cardinal, he is your prisoner.
Car. Sirs, take away the duke, and guard him sure.
Glou. Ah! thus King Henry throws away his crutch

172-177. *Car. My liege . . . grace*] omitted Q. 178-181. *Hath he . . . his state*] 89-91. *Doth he not twit our Soueraigne Lady here, As if that she with ignomious wrong, Had sobornde or hired some to sweare against his life.* 182. *But I . . . chide*] 92. *I but I . . . speake.* 183, 184. *Far . . . me false*] 93, 94. *Far . . . Beshrow the winners hearts, they plaie me false.* 185. *And . . . speak*] omitted Q. 186. *hold*] 95. *keep.* 187. *Lord . . . prisoner*] 96. *My Lord of Winchester, see him sent away.* 188. *Sirs . . . sure*] 97, 98. *Who's within there? Take in Duke Hnmphrey, And see him garded sure within my house.* 189. *Ah! . . . throws*] 99. *O! . . . casts.*

staff] I have only one earlier example, from Udall's *Diotrephes* (Arber reprint, p. 24), 1588: "was there ever any man that went to beat a dogg but he could easily find out *a staff* to doe it?" It is in Camden's *Remaines*, and in Tell Troths *New Years Gift* (New Shaks. Soc. p. 14), 1593.

178, 179. *twit . . . With*] See Part I. III. ii. 55, note. Not a few of the expressions in Part I. are echoed in Parts II. and III. See v. v. 40, in Part III., and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. ii. 8.

179. *ignominious*] See note, Part I. IV. i. 97; and see below, IV. viii. 66. Nowhere else in Shakespeare, but "ignominy" occurs in *1 Henry IV.* "Ignomy" (a word used by Peele and Greene) is in Shakespeare three times, *Titus Andronicus* being one. The *Contention* has "*ignomious* wrong" here; a word of Peele's also: "Wherein, as well as famous facts, *ignomious* placed are" (*Sir Clyomon* (Dyce, 490), Prologue). Later in the same drama (496, a) "*Ignomy*" occurs.

179. *clerkly*] Greene uses this adverb (which is also in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. i. 114) in *Never too Late:* "all her sweet potions were found to bee poysons, though shee covered them neuer so *clarkly*" (Grosart, viii. 143). Adroitly, cleverly.

179. *clerkly couched*] cleverly framed. Compare Greene, *Card of Fancie* (iv. 13): "each line so perfectlie *couched*"; and again p. 179.

181. *allegations*] See above, line 40 (note).

182. *give the loser leave to chide*] See again *Titus Andronicus*, III. i. 233. "When winners boast, *leesers* speak their fill" (Harington, *Orlando Furioso*, xxiii. 27 (1591?)). And in Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* (Grosart, ii. 14), 1592: "weele *giue loosers leaue to* talke"; and "Alway to let the *losers* haue their words" (Heywood's *Proverbs* (Sharman's edition, p. 31), 1546).

186. *wrest the sense*] distort the meaning.

Before his legs be firm to bear his body:
Thus is the shepherd beaten from thy side,
And wolves are gnarling who shall gnaw thee first.
Ah! that my fear were false; ah! that it were;
For, good King Henry, thy decay I fear. [*Exit, guarded.*

King. My lords, what to your wisdoms seemeth best,
Do or undo, as if ourself were here.

Queen. What! will your highness leave the parliament?

King. Ay, Margaret; my heart is drowned with grief,
Whose flood begins to flow within mine eyes,
My body round engirt with misery,
For what 's more miserable than discontent?
Ah! uncle Humphrey, in thy face I see
The map of honour, truth, and loyalty;

190. *be firm to . . . body*] 100. *can . . . bodie up.* 191. *Thus . . . side*] 101. *And puts his watchfull shepheard from his side.* 192. *And . . . first*] 102. *Whilst wolues stand snarring who shall bite him first.* 193, 194. *Ah! . . . I fear*] 103, 104. *Farewell my soueraigne, long maist thou enioy, Thy fathers happie daies free from annoy. Exet Humphrey with the Cardinals men.* 195. *seemeth*] 105. *shal seem.* 196. *or undo*] 106. *and undo.* 197, 198. *What . . . drown'd with grief.* 107, 108. *What . . . kild with griefe.* 199-220. *Whose blood . . . vowed enemies*] omitted Q.

192. *gnarling*] snarling: "snarning" in *Contention*. Craig quotes from Nashe's *Have with you:* "What will not a dogge doo that is angered? bite and *gnarle* at anie bone" (1596). An onomatopœic word with no fixed spelling. Golding has:—

"Queene Hecub ronning at a stone,
with *gnarring* seazed theron,
And wirryed it . . . in stead of speche she barkt"

(Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xiii. 680-682). And: "Tone of them callde Jolly boy . . . the tother Chorle who euer *gnoorring* went" (iii. 268, 269).

198. *my heart is drowned with grief*] "kill'd with grief" in *Contention* points to Peele; "slain my wretched heart" and "slays my heart with grief" occur in *David and Bethsabe;* and see II. iv. 29 above, where "killes my wofull heart" is left out from the present play. But the expression is old and probably common. See my note in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 149 (Arden edition, p. 131). See Robertson's *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* for references to Marlowe, to *Arden of Feversham*, and to *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, in which Peele is claimed by him to have had a hand. The expression is in *Titus Andronicus*, III. ii. 54.

200. *engirt*] See v. i. 99 for this word in literal use. And *Lucrece*, 221, 1173; *Venus and Adonis*, 364; but not in the later works of Shakespeare. Marlowe has it in *Edward the Second* (see below, v. i.), and Spenser later (1596) in Globe edition, 602, b. Surrounded.

202, 203. *in thy face I see The map of honour*] An expression apparently due to Greene, originally. Perhaps one of the borrowed plumes here that raised the row, for there is nothing of Greene's writing in this speech. See *Euphues his Censure* (Grosart, vi. 234): "Hector, whose countenance threatned warres, & in whose face appeared a *map* of martiall exploits"; and *Never too Late* (viii. 39): "Her countenance is the verie *map* of modestie"; and *Menaphon* (vi. 44): "In his face appeared the *mappe* of discontent"; and in *Orpharion* (xii. 14): "Thy face the *map* of sorrowes." These are earlier than *Henry VI.* The simile became a favourite. See *Titus Andronicus*, III. ii. 12, and *Richard II.* v. i. 12. In *Twelfth Night*, III. ii. 85, it is made a flouting-stock of. The expression seems

And yet, good Humphrey, is the hour to come
That e'er I proved thee false, or feared thy faith.
What low'ring star now envies thy estate,
That these great lords, and Margaret our queen,
Do seek subversion of thy harmless life?
Thou never didst them wrong, nor no man wrong;
And as the butcher takes away the calf,
And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,
Bearing it to the bloody slaughter-house;
Even so, remorseless, have they borne him hence;
And as the dam runs lowing up and down,
Looking the way her harmless young one went,
And can do nought but wail her darling's loss;
Even so myself bewails good Gloucester's case
With sad unhelpful tears, and with dimmed eyes
Look after him, and cannot do him good;
So mighty are his vowed enemies.
His fortunes I will weep; and 'twixt each groan
Say "Who 's a traitor? Gloucester he is none."

[*Exeunt all but Queen, Cardinal, Suffolk, and York. Somerset standing apart.*

Queen. Free lords, cold snow melts with the sun's hot beams.

221, 222. *His fortunes . . . he is none*] 109, 110. *Where I may sit and sigh in endlesse mone, For who's . . . he is none. Exet King, Salsbury and Warwicke.* 223-230. *Free lords . . . excellent*] omitted Q.

to have supplanted "mirror" and "pattern" for a time. And in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (III. x. 91) (Boas): "Thine ivorie front; my sorrowes *map*."

208. *subversion*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. It is frequent in Hall and Grafton. Overthrow. "To bring this your realme vnto *subuersion*" (Grafton, i. 269), and again p. 305, are examples.

212. *slaughter-house*] and *slaughterman* are met with several times in Shakespeare, especially in the historical plays. They seem to be characteristic. The butcher and the calf, lamb, or heifer; the chicken and the kite; the fox—these metaphors appeal to Shakespeare, in preference to the bears, tigers, lions and dragons of his greatest contemporary, Spenser, who followed more closely the romance writings as was his province. "Slaughterman" occurs twice in the Bible (Authorised Version, 1611), but not in early texts. See note at "crocodile," l. 226. It is noticeable that Kyd follows Shakespeare again (see deep-fet, fraudful): "To leade a lambe into the *slaughter-house*," in *Soliman and Perseda*. See Crawford's *Collectanea*, First Series, p. 129. See "sudden qualm," I. i. 54.

218. *dimmed eyes*] See above, I. i. 55; and Part III. v. ii. 16. "Dimm'd eyes" occurs in the *Faerie Queene*, bk. i. (earliest in *New Eng. Dict.*).

219. *do him good*] further his cause, profit him. See above, I. ii. 77; and *3 Henry VI.* III. ii. 39. In Genesis xxxii. 12, and often elsewhere.

"Promiseth aid of arms, and swears by us
To do your majesty all the *good* he can"

(Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, III. i. (p. 431, b)).

220. *vowed enemies*] sworn foes. "Vowed friend" occurs in Part III. III. iii. 50. Later, in Shakespeare, "sworn friend" (*Winter's Tale*) and "sworn enemy" (*Twelfth Night*) appear once each.

223. *Free lords*] lords who are not

Henry my lord is cold in great affairs,
Too full of foolish pity; and Gloucester's show
Beguiles him as the mournful crocodile
With sorrow snares relenting passengers;
Or as the snake, rolled in a flowering bank,
With shining checkered slough, doth sting a child
That for the beauty thinks it excellent.
Believe me, lords, were none more wise than I,
And yet herein I judge mine own wit good,
This Gloucester should be quickly rid the world,

231-234. *Believe me . . . of him*] 111-115. *Queene. Then sit we downe againe my Lord Cardinall, Suffolke, Buckingham, Yorke and Somerset. Let us consult of proud Duke Humphries fall, In mine opinion it were good he dide, For safetie of our king and commonwealth.*

tied up by such precise regard to religion as the king (Warburton)—"men of the world who know how to live." This, I opine, is nonsense. "Free" is an old and honourable epithet, meaning generous, magnanimous, etc. See *New Eng. Dict.* Best known in the expressions "fair and free" (in old romances), and in "frank and free" (three times in Golding's *Ovid*). A later example is in *The Interlude of Youth* (1554): "that lady *free*" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, ii. 28). See Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. x. 6.

224. *cold*] not zealous or interested. See note at "God's will be done," above, l. 86. The only great affairs to Queen Margaret are affairs of state.

225. *foolish pity*] ill-advised sympathy. There was an old proverb, "Peevish pity (*foolish pity*, *too much pity* were variants) spoils a city." "An olde proverb, over much pittie spoileth a cittie" (Whetstone, *Censure of a Loyal Subject*, Collier's *Early English Prose Literature*, p. 11, 1587).

226-228. *crocodile . . . snake*] Hall has these two metaphors coupled in *Henry VI.* (XXXVII Yere): "Thys cancard *crocodryle* (corrected in Grafton) and subtile serpent coud not longe lurke in malicious hertes nor venomous stomackes." Perhaps a subconscious reminiscence. The best account of the crocodile myth came home with Hawkins' *Second Voyage*, 1565. See Sparke's *Narrative* in Hakluyt. It is also in Sir John Mandeville, but not in Pliny or Physiologus. See, however, Trevisa's translation of Bartholome's *De Prop. Rerum*, 1397: "If the *crocodile* fineth a man by the brim of the water, or by the cliff, he slayeth him, if he may, and then he weepeth upon him and swalloweth him at the last." These are the true "crocodile's tears." Greene revels in the crocodile. See a good parallel passage in *Selimus* (Grosart, xiv. 209). But it is to the *Faerie Queene*, I. v. 18, we should turn for poetical use.

228. *snake, rolled*] See *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 13.

229. *checkered slough*] Golding has this simile (ix. 320) in *Ovid*, quoted at "scouring armour," above, I. iii. 191. And in Grafton, i. 657: "In the serpent, lurcking under the grasse, and under sugred speeche, was hid pestyferous poyson." Shakespeare has the snake's slough elsewhere in *Twelfth Night* and in *Henry V.* Golding has it again, "freckled slough," iii. 77 (rhyming with tough, enough; elsewhere in Golding tough rhymes with though, and plough with rough; we haven't improved). For the snake in the grass (latet anguis in herba), see Chaucer's *Somnours Tale*, l. 286. "Checkered" ("chequered") occurs again in *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 15, and the verb in *Romeo and Juliet* and in *Venus and Adonis*. Greene has it several times. A much older word in the sense of "diversified with different colours."

233. *rid the world*] cleared out of the world. "Rid" is very common provincially (northern) in this use. "Rid" can mean destroyed, but the following words forbid that sense here. Peele has "I *rid* her not; I made her not away," in *Edward I.* (408, a). Frequent in Shakespeare. See *3 Henry VI.* v. iii. 21 (note). And see Grafton's *Continua-*

To rid us from the fear we have of him.
Car. That he should die is worthy policy;
But yet we want a colour for his death.
'Tis meet he be condemned by course of law.
Suf. But in my mind that were no policy:
The king will labour still to save his life;
The commons haply rise to save his life;
And yet we have but trivial argument,
More than mistrust, that shows him worthy death.
York. So that, by this, you would not have him die.
Suf. Ah! York, no man alive so fain as I.
York. 'Tis York that hath more reason for his death.
But, my lord cardinal, and you, my Lord of Suffolk,
Say as you think, and speak it from your souls,
Were 't not all one an empty eagle were set
To guard the chicken from a hungry kite,
As place Duke Humphrey for the king's protector?
Queen. So the poor chicken should be sure of death.

235-237. *Car. That he . . . of law*] 126, 127. *Car. Then let him die before the Commons know, For feare that they doe rise in Armes for him.* 238-251. *Suf. But in my mind . . . Queen . . . sure of death*] omitted Q.

tion of Hardyng (519): "He thought therfore without delaye to *ryd* theim, as though the kyllyng of his kynsmen might ende his cause."

234. *To rid us . . . of him*] In both plays the queen is the first to pronounce the murder necessary. But there is one important structural alteration in the final play. The Folio has "Manent Queen, three lords," to plot his death. The *Contention* represents the queen as summoning the five (Cardinal, Suffolk, Buckingham, York, Somerset) to the conspiracy. But they agree in leaving the deed to the Cardinal and Suffolk for execution. Hall says: "Diuers writers affirme, the Duke of Suffolke, and the Duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe, not unprocured by the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Archebishop of Yorke." He was arrested at a parliament kept at Bury "by the Lorde . . . high constable . . . the Duke of Buckyngham, and other." For dates and further authorities on the facts, see Boswell Stone. See below at l. 240.

236. *colour*] excuse. I fear the Cardinal must be credited with a very unseemly pun. But it is not unique. Compare *Narcissus* (ed. Miss Lee, p. 11):—

"Shall wee dye quickly both?
I pray what *colour*."

240. *commons haply rise*] "his Capitall enemies and mortall foes, fearing that some tumult or commocion might arise, if a Prince so well beloued of the people, should be openly executed . . . determined to trap and vndoe him" (Grafton, p. 629). Hence the parliament at Bury. See note, l. 234.

241. *trivial*] unimportant, worthless. In Cotgrave: "*Triuiall*, common . . . of small worth." "Taught and used in common high waies" (*Trivialis*, J. Rider), 1589. Shakespeare has the word several times; it was used by Gabriel Harvey, who calls Greene "a *Triviall* and triobular [three half-penny] Autor for knaves & fooles" (*Foure Letters* (Grosart, i. 190), 1592). And in *The Trimming of Thomas Nash* (Grosart, iii. 6): "To tell you what the man is, and the reason of this book, were but *triviall* and superfluous." And Peele, *Honour of the Garter* (Dyce, 584, Prol.): "With *trivial* humours to pastime the world" (1593).

245. *York . . . hath more reason*] Explained by the two last lines in this scene.

249. *chicken . . . kite*] See note at "puttock," below, III. ii. 191.

Suf. Madam, 'tis true; and were 't not madness then
To make the fox surveyor of the fold?
Who, being accused a crafty murderer,
His guilt should be but idly posted over
Because his purpose is not executed.
No; let him die, in that he is a fox,
By nature proved an enemy to the flock,
Before his chaps be stained with crimson blood,
As Humphrey, proved by reasons, to my liege.
And do not stand on quillets how to slay him:
Be it by gins, by snares, by subtilty,
Sleeping or waking, 'tis no matter how,
So he be dead; for that is good deceit
Which mates him first that first intends deceit.
Queen. Thrice-noble Suffolk, 'tis resolutely spoke.
Suf. Not resolute, except so much were done;
For things are often spoke and seldom meant:
But that my heart accordeth with my tongue,
Seeing the deed is meritorious,
And to preserve my sovereign from his foe,
Say but the word and I will be his priest.
Car. But I would have him dead, my Lord of Suffolk,

252-265. *Suf. Madam, 'tis true . . . intends deceit*] 116-125. *Suffolke. And so thinke I Madame, for as you know, If our King Henry had shooke hands with death, Duke Humphrey then would looke to be our King: And it may be by pollicie he workes, To bring to passe the thing which now we doubt, The Foxe* (see above, l. 55) *. . . Lambe, But if we take him ere he do the deed, We should not question if that he should liue. No. Let him die, in that he is a Foxe, Least that in liuing he offend us more.* 266-272. *Queen. Thrice-noble . . . his priest*] omitted Q. 273-277. *Car. But I . . . my liege*] 130. *Car. Agreed, for hee's already kept within my house.*

255. *posted over*] hurried over, gone through with haste and negligence. From the sense of post-haste. Compare *3 Henry VI.* IV. viii. 40; and "over-posting" in *2 Henry IV.* I. ii. 171. "In post" for "in haste" was a common expression. Greene has "in posting pace" twice in *Alphonsus*.

261. *quillets*] subtleties. See note at Part I. II. iv. 17. Several times in Shakespeare, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 285 (note, Arden edition).

265. *mates*] confounds, subdues. See *Macbeth*, V. i. 86, and *Venus and Adonis*, 909. Spenser and Peele usually wrote "amate." Golding has: "The surges mounting up aloft did seeme too *mate* the skye" (xi. 573).

265. Shakespeare quotes the lines containing "shook hands with death" (*Contention*) in Part III. I. ix. 102, when Margaret is murdering York. Peele has "If holy David so shook hands with sin" in *David and Bethsabe* (470, a).

266. *Thrice-noble*] a very favourite construction with Shakespeare. But his predecessor Peele abounds in such adjectives. See Introduction to Part I. All seem to take their rise from Spenser's "*thrice*-happy," which was also used by Kyd later, but not extended by him. Compare here Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I. I. ii.: "*Thrice-noble* Tamburlaine" (Dyce, p. 12, b).

272. *I will be his priest*] An expression of Kyd's: "Who first laies hand on me, *ile be his Priest*" (*Spanish Tragedie*, III. iii. 38 (ed. Boas)). It is in the watchman's scene, which gave Shakespeare several hints, in Part III. IV. iii. Similarly Peele has "For want of a priest the priest's part I will play" (*Sir Clyomon* (518, b)).

Ere you can take due orders for a priest:
Say you consent and censure well the deed,
And I 'll provide his executioner;
I tender so the safety of my liege.
Suf. Here is my hand, the deed is worthy doing.
Queen. And so say I.
York. And I: and now we three have spoke it,
It skills not greatly who impugns our doom.

Enter a Post.

Post. Great lords, from Ireland am I come amain,
To signify that rebels there are up,
And put the Englishmen unto the sword.
Send succours, lords, and stop the rage betime,
Before the wound do grow incurable;
For, being green, there is great hope of help.
Car. A breach that craves a quick expedient stop!
What counsel give you in this weighty cause?
York. That Somerset be sent as regent thither.

278. *Suf. Here is . . . doing*] 129. *Suffol. Let that be my Lord Cardinals charge & mine.* 279. *Queen. And . . . I*] omitted Q. 280, 281. *York. And I . . . doom*] 128. *Yorke. Then do it sodainly my Lords.* 282-287. *Enter . . . Great lords . . . of help*] 131-135. *Enter a Messenger. Queen. How now sirrha, what newes? Messen. Madame I bring you newes from Ireland, The wilde Onele, my Lords, is up in Armes, With troupes of Irish kernes that uncontrold, Doth plant themselues within the English pale.* 288, 289. *Car. A breach . . . cause*] 136. *Queene. What redresse shal we haue for this my Lords?* 290-292. *York. That . . . France*] 137-141. *Yorke. Twere very good that my Lord of Somerset*

277. *I tender so the safety*] am so solicitous and careful of. See Part I. IV. vii. 10 (note). Compare *Locrine*, I. i.: "And if thou *tend'rest* these my latest words . . . Cherish and love thy new-betrothed wife."

281. *It skills not greatly*] it matters not greatly. "It *skills* not much" occurs in *Taming of the Shrew* and in *Twelfth Night*. An old phrase. The root meaning is discern, separate, differ (Skeat). Compare Peele, *Sir Clyomon* (493, b): "Whither I go *it skills not*"; and *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 400): "What countryman art thou? *Wat Tyler. It skills not much;* I am an Englishman." "Nay, *skyl not* a whit" occurs in Part II. of Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, IV. ii. (1578).

282. *Ireland*] The two lines in the *Contention* about the O'Neill are to be noted. They occur (very nearly) in Marlowe's *Edward the Second:* "The wild O'Neil with swarms of Irish kerns Lives uncontroll'd within the English pale" (197, a). Dyce first collected these parallels. See above, I. iii. 49 and 79, and I. iv. 15, 16.

282. *come amain*] This and "march amain" occur often in Part III.; and see below, v. i. 114, and *Titus Andronicus*, IV. iv. 65, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 549. Frequent in Peele, *Polyhymnia*, etc.

282, 283. *Ireland . . . rebels there are up*] See note below, ll. 309, 310. See Grafton, *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 574: "When the kyng was shewed of this by his auditours that they were up, . . . he thoughte fyrste to scoure his realme of suche rebelles."

283. *signify*] announce, inform. So in Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. ii.: "To *signify* she was a princess born."

288. *breach . . . stop*] See below, v. ii. 282, 283.

'Tis meet that lucky ruler be employed;
Witness the fortune he hath had in France.
Som. If York, with all his far-fet policy,
Had been the regent there instead of me,
He never would have stayed in France so long.
York. No, not to lose it all, as thou hast done.
I rather would have lost my life betimes
Than bring a burden of dishonour home,
By staying there so long till all were lost.
Show me one scar charactered on thy skin:
Men's flesh preserved so whole do seldom win.
Queen. Nay then, this spark will prove a raging fire
If wind and fuel be brought to feed it with.
No more, good York; sweet Somerset, be still:
Thy fortune, York, hadst thou been regent there,
Might happily have proved far worse than his.
York. What! worse than nought? nay, then a shame take all.
Som. And in the number thee, that wishest shame.
Car. My Lord of York, try what your fortune is.

That fortunate Champion were sent ouer, And burnes and spoiles the Country as they goe (this line properly follows *English pale* (135) and so in Qq 2, 3), *To keepe in awe the stubborne Irishmen, He did so much good when he was in France.* 293-295. *If York . . . so long*] 142, 143. *Had Yorke bene there with all his far fetcht Pollices, he might haue lost as much as I.* 296-301. *No, not to . . . seldom win*] 144, 145. *I, for Yorke would haue lost his life before, That France should haue reuolted from Englands rule.* 302-304. *Queen. Nay then . . . be still*] omitted Q. 305, 306. (*Queen*) *Thy fortune . . . worse than his*] 146. *Somer. I so thou might'st, and yet haue governed worse than I.* 307. *York. What . . . nought? nay, then . . .*] 147. *Yorke. What . . . nought, then . . .* 308. *And . . . shame*] 148. *Shame on thy selfe, that wisheth shame.* 309-314. *Car. My Lord . . . Irishmen?*] 149-152. *Queene. Somerset forbeare, good Yorke be patient* (see 304) *And do thou take in hand to crosse the seas, With troupes of Armed men to quell the pride Of those ambitious Irish that rebell.*

292. *fortune he hath had in France*] The line here in the *Contention*, "He did so much good when he was in France," has been used (nearly) by the king to Somerset when making him regent (*Contention*, I. iv. 160): "We make your grace Regent over the French . . . And so do good unto the Realme of France." So that York's words are a bitter gibe. See I. iii. 205, and 210, 211 (note). Shakespeare omits the expression "do good" or "do much good" in both cases, though often using it elsewhere.

293. *far-fet*] far-fetched. See "deep-fet," II. iv. 33.

300. *charactered*] written, inscribed. Compare *Selimus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 197): "Was at the last slaine fighting in the field; *Charactering* honor in his batt'red shield . . . gathering to him a number numberlesse" (an opening speech by Peele). Compare, too, *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iv. 5-7:—

"We may see
What warlike wrinkles time has *character'd*
With ages print upon thy warlike face."

302, 303. *fire . . . fuel*] See *3 Henry VI.* v. iv. 70; and quotation from *Spanish Tragedy*, III. x. 74 (Boas).

309, 310. *My Lord of York . . . Ireland*] See I. i. 192, 193, which implies that York had already been employed in Ireland. But both passages refer confusingly to the same rebellion. See

The uncivil kerns of Ireland are in arms
And temper clay with blood of Englishmen:
To Ireland will you lead a band of men,
Collected choicely, from each county some,
And try your hap against the Irishmen?
York. I will, my lord, so please his majesty.
Suf. Why, our authority is his consent,
And what we do establish he confirms:
Then, noble York, take thou this task in hand.
York. I am content: provide me soldiers, lords,
Whiles I take order for mine own affairs.
Suf. A charge, Lord York, that I will see performed.
But now return we to the false Duke Humphrey.

315-326. *York. I will . . . that event*] 153-161. *Yorke. Well Madame sith your grace is so content, Let me haue some bands of chosen soldiers, And Yorke shall trie his fortune against those kernes. Queene. Yorke thou shalt. My Lord of Buckingham, Let it be your charge to muster vp such souldiers As shall suffise him in these needfull warres. Buck. Madame I will and leavie such a band As soone shall ouercome those Irish Rebels, But Yorke, where shall those soldiers staie for thee?*

extract from Grafton at I. i. 192 (the XXVII. year, 1448). The O'Neilles (see *Contention*) were in ceaseless commotion at this period. In the year 1450 (*Annals of the Four Masters*) we are told "great depredations were committed by the son of MacGeoghegan on the English . . . during that commotion . . . he spoiled an immense deal during that war. The English of Meath, and the Duke of York, with the king's standard, marched to Mullingar." And the O'Neill was up all the time. See Marlowe quotation above, l. 282.

310. *kerns of Ireland*] See *Richard II.* II. i. 156 for the character they bore in England. "And as to their footemen they haue one sort which be harnessed in mayle and bassenettes, hauing euery one of them his weapon called a spare . . . and they were named gallowglasses [Irish *galloglach*, a servant, a heavy-armed soldier, *giolla* servant, *glacaim* I wrestle, struggle] and for the most part their boys beare for them three darts a piece. . . . The other sorte called kerne are nakid, but onely their shertes and small coates; and many tymes when they come to the bycker, but bare nakid . . . and these haue dartes and short bowes" (Anthony Saint Leger, 6th April, 1543, *Letter to Henry VIII.*, State Papers). See *Ulster Journal*, vi. 198, 199. See notes to *Macbeth*, Steevens' Shakespeare.

311. *temper clay with blood*] Compare *King Lear*, I. iv. 326, and *Titus Andronicus*, v. ii. 200. Moistened, as of mortar. Peele uses the word: "The mortar of these walls, temper'd in peace" (*Descensus Astrææ*, 1591).

312. *band of men*] "troops of armed men" in *Contention* (l. 151) occurs in *1 Henry VI.* II. ii. 24. "Troops of . . ." occurs three times in 70 lines here in Q.

318. *take thou this task*] In a note on "attask'd" (*King Lear*, I. iv. 366), under "Task," Schmidt says "Compare the modern *to take to task*." But it isn't modern. Peele uses it in *Polyhymnia*:—

"The last, not least, of these brave brethren . . .
Bowes *takes to task* with strong and mighty arm"
(572, a).

319. *provide me soldiers*] "muster up such soldiers" in *Contention* here (l. 157) occurs in Part III. IV. viii. 11, and IV. viii. 18; and in *Richard III.* IV. iv. 489, and *Richard II.* II. ii. 118. The "up" is characteristic of Shakespeare. See note at "mailed up," II. iv. 31.

320. *take order for*] arrange. See *1 Henry VI.* III. ii. 126 (note). Peele has this phrase several times: "According to the *order ta'en* herein, what do you say?" (*Sir Clyomon* (523, b), *circa* 1584).

322. *return we*] A favourite transposition with Shakespeare—already noted upon.

Car. No more of him; for I will deal with him
That henceforth he shall trouble us no more.
And so break off; the day is almost spent.
Lord Suffolk, you and I must talk of that event.
York. My Lord of Suffolk, within fourteen days
At Bristol I expect my soldiers;
For there I 'll ship them all for Ireland.
Suf. I 'll see it truly done, my Lord of York.
[*Exeunt all but York.*
York. Now, York, or never, steel thy fearful thoughts,
And change misdoubt to resolution:
Be that thou hopest to be, or what thou art
Resign to death; it is not worth the enjoying.
Let pale-faced fear keep with the mean-born man,
And find no harbour in a royal heart.
Faster than spring-time showers comes thought on thought,

327-329. *York. My Lord of Suffolk . . . Ireland*] 162. *Yorke. At Bristow, I wil expect them ten daies hence.* 330. *Suf. I 'll . . . York*] 163-168. *Buc. Then thither shall they come, and so farewell. Exet Buckingham. Yorke. Adieu my Lord of Buckingham. Queene. Suffolke remember what you haue to do. And you Lord Cardinall concerning Duke Humphrey, Twere good that you did see to it in time, Come let us go, that it may be performde. Exet omnis, Manit Yorke.* 331-340. *York. Now, York . . . mine enemies*] 169-171. *York. Now York bethink thy selfe and rowse thee vp, Take time whilst it is offered thee so faire, Least when thou wouldst, thou canst it not attaine.*

325. *break off*] enough talk. Often in Shakespeare: *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 262, etc. Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, IV. iv. 74, 75:—

"Heere *breake we off* our sundrie languages
And thus conclude I in our vulgar tung."

325. *day . . . spent*] Compare *Faerie Queene*, II. ii. 46:—

"Night was far spent; and now in Ocean deep,
Orion flying fast."

331. *Now . . . or never*] Peele has this expression twice: "What let me brave it *now or never*, Ned!" (*Edward I.*, Dyce, 379, b); and:—

"Now, *now or never*, bravely execute
Your resolution sound and honourable"

(*Battle of Alcazar*, IV. ii. (436, a)). "Behold, thrice-noble lord," and "you thrice-valiant lords" occur in the same speech as the last quotation. See above, line 266. See *3 Henry VI.* IV. iii. 24, and note, for references to Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*.

331. *steel thy . . . thoughts*] See note at *3 Henry VI.* II. ii. 41.

331. *come let's goe*] in Q. See above, end of II. ii.

332. *misdoubt*] See *2 Henry IV.* IV. i. 206. The noun is not elsewhere in Shakespeare; the verb several times.

335. *pale-faced*] Occurs again *Venus and Adonis*, 569; *Richard II.* (twice); and in *I Henry IV.* Compounds with "faced" were especially affected by Shakespeare. He has a remarkable collection of them, about thirty in number. *Venus and Adonis* has the earliest example in *New Eng. Dict.* See "bold-faced," Part I. IV. vi. 12. "Red-faced" in North's *Plutarch* seems earlier. Sylvester (1591) has "wrinkle-faced" and "lean-faced." See III. ii. 315 below.

335. *mean-born*] See again *Richard III.* IV. ii. 54. Of humble origin. "Base-born" occurs in the same sense twice in this play and once in Part III. See I. I. iii. 86, and IV. viii. 49. Earlier in Peele. See note at "true-born," Part I. II. iv. 27.

337. *spring-time showers*] See *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i. 248, and *Henry VI.* Part III. II. iii. 47.

And not a thought but thinks on dignity.
My brain, more busy than the labouring spider,
Weaves tedious snares to trap mine enemies.
Well, nobles, well; 'tis politicly done,
To send me packing with an host of men:
I fear me you but warm the starved snake,
Who, cherished in your breasts, will sting your hearts.
'Twas men I lacked, and you will give them me:
I take it kindly; yet be well assured
You put sharp weapons in a madman's hands.
Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mighty band,
I will stir up in England some black storm
Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell;
And this fell tempest shall not cease to rage
Until the golden circuit on my head,
Like to the glorious sun's transparent beams,
Do calm the fury of this mad-bred flaw.
And, for a minister of my intent,
I have seduced a headstrong Kentishman,
John Cade of Ashford,

341-345. *Well nobles . . . give them me*] 172. *Twas men I lackt, and now they giue them me.* 346, 347. *I take it . . . hands*] omitted Q. 348. *Whiles . . . band*] 173. *And now whilst I am busie in Ireland.* 349-355. *I will stir . . . my intent*] omitted Q. 356, 357. *I have . . . Ashford*] 174, 175. *I have . . . Ashford.*

343, 344. *snake . . . in . . . breasts*] Compare Chaucer, *Marchaunts Tale:* "Lyk to the *naddre in bosom* sly untrewe." And see Skeat's excellent note. From a fable in *Gesta Romanorum*, and in *Phædrus.*

347. *put . . . weapons in a madman's hands*] Proverbial. "It is ill putting a naked sword *in a madman's hand*" (Heywood's *Proverbs* (edited Sharman, p. 149), 1546). "The *madman* is unmete a naked sword to gide" (Tottel's *Miscellany* (Arber's reprint, p. 269), 1557). Common later, and in Camden's and Ray's collections.

350. *ten thousand souls*] Used where we say "thousands of." Often by Shakespeare. See in this Act, at ii. 218 and 354; and often elsewhere. And in Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (485, a): "Whose heart . . . bursts with burden of *ten thousand* griefs." See "twenty thousand kisses," III. ii. 142. Peele has it again: "Welcome eke *ten thousand* times" (*Sir Clyomon* (532, a)). Compare Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, II. iv. 28:—

"Me liefer were *ten thousand* deathes priefe,
Then wounde of gealous worme."

Common in Biblical language.

352. *circuit*] crown, diadem. See note at *3 Henry VI.* I. ii. 30. "Golden round" occurs in *Macbeth;* "golden rigol" in *2 Henry IV.*

354. *flaw*] squall, gust. "Oft times to Weast, ofttimes to East, did drive him many a *flaw*" (Golding's *Ovid*, iv. 769).

354. *mad-bred*] Perhaps the earliest combination with "bred," and overlooked in *New Eng. Dict.* "Homebred" occurs in Part III. IV. i. 38.

356. *Kentishman*] John Ball says of Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 400): "Marry sir, he is a *Kentishman*" (one word).

357-375. *John Cade . . . house and claim of York*] "For although Richard Duke of Yorke was in person (as the king's Deputie) in the realm of Ireland . . . yet his breath puffed . . . in many partes of this realme . . . the friendes, kinsmen and allies of the Duke . . . putting into mens heades secretly his right to the Crowne . . . it was thought necessary to cause some great commo-

To make commotion, as full well he can,
Under the title of John Mortimer.
In Ireland have I seen this stubborn Cade
Oppose himself against a troop of kerns,
And fought so long, till that his thighs with darts
Were almost like a sharp-quilled porpentine:
And, in the end being rescued, I have seen
Him caper upright like a wild Morisco,

358. *To . . . can*] 177. *To raise commotion, and by that meanes.* 359. *Under . . . Mortimer*] 176. *Vnder . . . Mortimer: Sir Iohn Mortimer* Q 2: *Mortimer, (For he is like him euery kinde of way)*, Q 3. 360-371. *In Ireland . . . substitute*] omitted Q.

cion, and ye risyng of the people to be made agaynst the king . . . And because the Kentishemen be impacient in wronges . . . this matter was put foorth in Kent. . . . A certaine yong man of a goodly stature, and pregnant wit, was entysed to take upon him the name of Iohn Mortimer, although his name were Iohn Cade, and not for a small pollicie, thinkyng that by that surname, the lyne and lynage of the . . . Erle of Marche . . . should be to him both adherent and favourable" (p. 640) (1450). See IV. ii. 4, 119 (notes).

358. *make commotion*] Compare Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 390):—

"a crew of rebels are in field,
And they have *made commotions* late in Kent."

363. *porpentine*] The old spelling, occurring again in *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet*, and as an inn-name in *The Comedy of Errors*. Greene spells it "porcupine" and "porcuntine," earlier. Roger Ascham says: "Claudiane the poete sayth, that nature gave example of shotyng first by the *Porpentine*, which doth shote his prickes" (*Toxophilus* (reprint, p. 31, Arber), 1545). Marlowe has "hair . . . like the quills of *porcupines*," in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. iii. The old belief alluded to by Ascham, that the porcupine shot his quills, is not far astray. When the animal flicks out his tail, the quills penetrate an assailant deeply and remain there. "Jack London" tells of "White Fang," the wolf, how he "had once sniffed too near. . . . One quill he had carried away in his muzzle, where it had remained for weeks, a rankling flame" (p. 62). And on page 66, a lynx sprang savagely at a wounded porcupine which flicked out its tail again. "Then she fell to backing away and sneezing, the nose bristling with quills like a monstrous pin-cushion. She brushed her nose with her paws, trying to dislodge the fiery darts . . . all the time leaping about, ahead, sidewise in a frenzy of pain and fright . . . she suddenly leaped without warning, straight up into the air." In this remarkable passage Shakespeare seems to have anticipated Holland and "Jack London."

365. *caper*] The earliest illustration of this verb in *New Eng. Dict.* is from *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 113. At the same reference as that for "porcupine" above (in Marlowe) occurs "to dance and *caper* in the air"; probably earlier. And in Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 383): "Tis . . . credit to *caper* under the gallows all save the head." Compare *Richard III.* I. i. 12 with the Marlowe lines in full.

365. *a wild Morisco*] Moorish, or morris-dancer. The word occurs earlier in Greene's *Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 220): "Needlesse noughts, as crisps, and scarphes, worne Alla *Morisco*." And in Will Barret, 1584 (Hakluyt, ii. 406, 407, ed. 1811): "The said mamedine is of silver, having the *Moresco* stampe on both sides." But Holland's *Plinie* affords the proper parallel: "The Curets taught to daunce in armour, and Pyrrhus the *Morisk*, in order of battell" (bk. vii. ch. lvi. p. 189 (1601)). And bk. vii. ch. iii.: "A common thing it was among them to fling weapons and darts in the aire . . . to flourish also beforehand, yea, and to encounter and meet together in fight like swordfencers, and to make good sport in a kinde of *Moriske* daunce." The morrice has not been traced earlier than Henry's VII.'s time.

Shaking the bloody darts as he his bells.
Full often, like a shag-haired crafty kern,
Hath he conversed with the enemy,
And undiscovered come to me again,
And given me notice of their villanies.
This devil here shall be my substitute;
For that John Mortimer, which now is dead,
In face, in gait, in speech, he doth resemble:
By this I shall perceive the commons' mind,
How they affect the house and claim of York.
Say he be taken, racked, and tortured,
I know no pain they can inflict upon him
Will make him say I moved him to those arms.
Say that he thrive, as 'tis great like he will,
Why, then from Ireland come I with my strength,
And reap the harvest which that rascal sowed;
For Humphrey being dead, as he shall be,
And Henry put apart, the next for me. [*Exit.*

372, 373. *For that John . . . resemble*] See line 176, Q 3, at 359 above. 374, 375. *By this . . . York*] 178, 179. *I shall perceiue how the common people, Do affect the claime and house of Yorke.* 376-378. *Say he be . . . those arms*] 183, 184. *Now if he should be taken and condemd, Heele nere confesse that I did set him on.* 379-381. *Say that he . . . rascal sow'd*] 180-182. *Then if he haue successe in his affaires, From Ireland then comes Yorke againe, To . . . coystrill sowed.* 382, 383. *For Humphrey . . . for me. Exit.*] 185-192. *And therefore ere I go ile send him word, To put in practise and to gather head, That*

366. *Shaking . . . bells*] The morrice-bells were fixed to the dancer's legs. Compare *Return from Parnassus* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 164):—

"like a morrice-dance
Hath put a *bell* or two about his legs."

See, too, *The Witch of Edmonton*, III. iv.

367. *shag-haired*] See note to *Macbeth*, Steevens' *Shakespeare*, vii. 521. Occurs in the old *King Leir*: "A *shag-haired* murdering wretch"; and in Golding's *Ovid* (bk. xiii. l. 1084) of a goat. This passage reads like a later interpolation.

379. *great like*] very likely. Compare "had like to," *Much Ado About Nothing*, v. i. 115; *As You Like It*, v. iv. 48; *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 750. Compare "'tis like," below, III. ii. 184; and elsewhere.

381. *reap . . . sowed*] reaping where another sowed, or another's harvest, from Luke xix. 22. Sometimes "thrust in sickle" (Revelation xiv. 15), as in Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 340). It is a frequent thought.

381. *rascal*] "coystrill" in the *Contention*, a word that Shakespeare uses only in *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 43. Apparently he disliked it, for he would have none of it in *King John*, though it occurs in *The Troublesome Raigne*: "Coystrill, loathsome dunghill swad" (1591). From "kestrel," a mousing unsporting hawk. Compare *Faerie Queene*, II. iii. 4:—

"Ne thought of honour euer did assay
His baser brest, but in his *kestrell* kynd
A pleasing vaine of glory he did fynd."

Shakespeare forbore from abusing this pleasing and useful bird. It occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*, II. ii. 57: "But hopes the *coystrell* to escape me so?"

382. *to gather head*] In the *Contention* here, occurs later in the play, IV. v. 10. See note.

382, 383. *For Humphrey being dead . . . next for me*] See above, l. 245.

SCENE II.—*Bury St. Edmunds. A Room of State.*

Enter certain Murderers, hastily.

First Mur. Run to my Lord of Suffolk; let him know
We have dispatched the duke, as he commanded.
Second Mur. O, that it were to do! What have we done?
Didst ever hear a man so penitent?
First Mur. Here comes my lord.

Enter SUFFOLK.

Suf. Now, sirs, have you dispatched this thing?
First Mur. Ay, my good lord, he's dead.
Suf. Why, that's well said. Go, get you to my house;
I will reward you for this venturous deed.
The king and all the peers are here at hand.
Have you laid fair the bed? Is all things well,
According as I gave directions?

so soone as I am gone he may begin To rise in Armes with troupes of country swaines, To helpe him to performe this enterprise. And then Duke Humphrey, he well made away, None then can stop the light to Englands Crowne, But Yorke can tame and headlong pull them downe. Exet Yorke.

SCENE II.

Enter . . .] *Then the Curtaines being drawne, Duke Humphrey is discouered in his bed and two men lying on his brest and smothering him in his bed. And then enter the Duke of Suffolk to them.* 1-5. *First Mur. Run . . . my lord*] omitted Q. 6. *Enter Suffolk. Suf. Now . . . thing?*] 1. *Suffolk. How now, sirs, what haue you dispatcht him?* 7. *First Mur. Ay . . . dead*] 2. *One. I my lord, hees dead I warrant you.* 8-12. *Why . . . directions?*] 3-5. *Then see the cloathes laid smooth about him still, That when the King comes, he may perceive, No other, but that he dide of his owne accord.*

3. *O . . . do!*] Compare the Spirit's ejaculation, I. iv. 28: "That I had said and done!"

5. *of his own accord*] In the *Contention;* spontaneously, with no outside agency. An odd use. It occurs of a door: "Which to them opened *of his owne accord*" in *Faerie Queene*, II. vii. 31.

7. *he's dead*] Grafton has: "The Duke the night after his imprisonment, was found dead in his bed, being the xxiiij. day of Februarij, and his bodye shewed to the Lordes and Commons, as though he had died of a palsey or impostume: but all indifferent persons well knewe, that he dyed of no naturall death, but of some violent force: some iudged him to be strangled: some affirme that a hote spit was put in at his fundament: other write that he was stiffled or smoldered betweene two feather beds. After whose death, none of his seruantes (although they were arraigned and attainted) were put to death: for the Duke of Suffolke shewed openly their pardon, but this doyng appeased not the grudge of the people" (p. 629, 1446). And at p. 633: "That William de la Poole late created Duke of Suffolke, and diuers other, were the occasion of the sayd Duke of Gloucester, which was the very father of the countrie, and the shielde and defence of the poore Commonaltie." The savage atrocity referred to by Grafton said to be perpetrated upon Gloucester described more fully as the means by which King Edward I. was done to death at Corfe Castle (Grafton, 1326-1327, p. 328).

First Mur. 'Tis, my good lord.
Suf. Away! be gone. [*Exeunt Murderers.*

Sound trumpets. Enter the KING, *the* QUEEN, *Cardinal* BEAUFORT, SOMERSET, *with Attendants.*

King. Go, call our uncle to our presence straight;
Say we intend to try his grace to-day,
If he be guilty, as 'tis published.
Suf. I 'll call him presently, my noble lord. [*Exit.*
King. Lords, take your places; and, I pray you all,
Proceed no straiter 'gainst our uncle Gloucester
Than from true evidence, of good esteem,
He be approved in practice culpable.
Queen. God forbid any malice should prevail
That faultless may condemn a nobleman!
Pray God he may acquit him of suspicion!
King. I thank thee, Nell; these words content me much.

13. *Tis . . . lord*] 6. 2 [*Murd.*]. *All things is hansome now my lord.* 14. *Away! . . . gone*] 7, 8. *Then draw the Curtaines againe and get you gone, And you shall haue your firme reward anon. Exet murtherers.* 15. *Sound Trumpets . . .*] 9. *Then enter the King and Queene, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Duke of Somerset, and the Cardinall.* 15-17. *Go . . . published*] 9, 10. *My Lord of Suffolke go call our vnkle Gloster, Tell him this day we will that he do cleare himselfe.* 18. *I'll . . . lord*] 11. *I will, my Lord.* 19-22. *Lords . . . culpable*] 12-15. *And good my Lords proceed no further against our vnkle Gloster, Then by just proofs you can affirme, For as the sucking childe or homelesse lambe, So is he innocent of treason to our state.* 23-26. *God forbid . . . much*] omitted Q.

14. *be gone*] The words, "You shall have your firm reward" of the *Contention* have no parallel in the play before us. "Firm reward" for fixed or determined reward is not Shakespearian; but compare "firm proposed natures" (of articles) in *Henry V.* v. ii. 362. Distinctly stated. See again below, when Iden presents Cade's head to the king (v. 1).

17. *published*] asserted, stated.

20. *straiter*] rigorously.

22. *approved*] proved. So Peele in his Pageant, *Lovely London* (Dyce, 538, b), 1585:—

"Whose excellent and princely majesty
Approves itself to be most fortunate."

And see *Othello*, II. iii. 211.

23-25. *God forbid . . . suspicion*] This speech, which has no parallel in the *Contention*, is well calculated to place the queen more unfavourably before us, according to design. Her abominable falseness and hypocrisy are powerful delineations in the following speeches, hardly found in the *Contention*.

25. *acquit him*] The *Contention* line, innocent as "sucking child or harmless lamb," has already been used by the king of Gloucester (Scene i. 71), in the final play.

26. *Nell*] A mistake for "Meg" perhaps. Capell altered the text to "Meg." Theobald read "Well." The reading "Nell" is confirmed by the occurrence of "Elianor" at ll. 79, 100 and 120, instead of "Margaret." Shakespeare was thinking of the Duchess of Gloucester. Similar mistakes occur in *Henry V.* v. i. 75, and elsewhere. See Cambridge Shakespeare. In the *Contention* the queen is rarely given her Christian name, but there is a great deal of "Nell" (Duchess) up to Act iii. Peele's abundant use of "Nell" for Edward the First's queen may be recalled. Possibly this mistake was Peele's.

Re-enter SUFFOLK.

How now! why look'st thou pale? why tremblest thou?
Where is our uncle? what 's the matter, Suffolk?
Suf. Dead in his bed, my lord; Gloucester is dead.
Queen. Marry, God forfend!
Car. God's secret judgment: I did dream to-night
The duke was dumb and could not speak a word.
[*The King swoons.*
Queen. How fares my lord? Help, lords! the king is dead.
Som. Rear up his body; wring him by the nose.
Queen. Run, go, help, help! O, Henry, ope thine eyes!
Suf. He doth revive again: madam, be patient.
King. O heavenly God!
Queen. How fares my gracious lord?
Suf. Comfort, my sovereign! gracious Henry, comfort!
King. What, doth my Lord of Suffolk comfort me?
Came he right now to sing a raven's note,
Whose dismal tune bereft my vital powers,

27, 28. *Re-enter Suffolk. How now . . . Suffolk?*] 16. *Enter Suffolke. How now Suffolke, where's our vnkle?* 29. *My lord; Gloucester*] 17. *My lord Gloster . . . The king falles in a sound.* 30-32. *Marry . . . a word*] omitted Q. 33. *How . . . dead*] 18. *Ay-me, the king is dead; help, help, my lords.* 35-37. *Run, go . . . gracious lord?*] omitted Q. 38. *sovereign*] 19. *Lord.* 39. *comfort me*] 20. *bid me comfort.* 40. *right now*] 21. *even now.* 41. *Whose . . . powers*] omitted Q.

34. *Rear up his body*] Compare *Jeronimo* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, iv. 375):—

"Lay hands on him; some *rear up*
The bleeding body to the light."

This was only to identify the murdered man in Kyd's (?) play. Sometimes bend the body, or bow the body. Webster has it several times.

34. *wring him by the nose*] to arouse circulation, and bring back to life, as in *Venus and Adonis*, 475. Greene has "wring by": "Did not Cresida *wring* Troylus by the hand, when her heart was in the tents of the Greecians" (*Alcida*, Grosart, ix. 97); and "want could not *wring him* by the finger" (*Mourning Garment*, ix. 180). "Sound" in the *Contention* here for "swoon" is also the word in the Folios, the common old spelling. These lines are not in the *Contention*. In these two long scenes the process is one of development and addition. See note at l. 39.

39-55. This speech gives an interesting study of the process carried out to such perfection between the *Contention* and Part III. in many places. Every line in the *Contention* is used up and improved, every thought given scope, and nine lines grow to seventeen from his earlier to his later passage.

40. *right now*] "even now" in the *Contention*. Exactly at this time or juncture. This expression is not found again in Shakespeare, but if it was going out of fashion here, it has survived in a lively manner in America. Compare Golding's *Ovid*: "That stoode *right now* uppon this shore" (viii. 1066). And Peele (a lover of Golding) has it also.

40. *raven's note*] An often alluded to superstition at this date, and throughout Shakespeare. Outside Shakespeare Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, and Peele's *David and Bethsabe* contain good passages. Dyce quotes from Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (1591) in a note to Peele's lines (469-470). See note at Part III. v. xii. 45-47; and at *Othello*, iv. i. 21 (Arden edition).

And thinks he that the chirping of a wren,
By crying comfort from a hollow breast,
Can chase away the first-conceived sound?
Hide not thy poison with such sugared words;
Lay not thy hands on me; forbear, I say:
Their touch affrights me as a serpent's sting.
Thou baleful messenger, out of my sight!
Upon thy eye-balls murderous tyranny
Sits in grim majesty to fright the world.
Look not upon me, for thine eyes are wounding:
Yet do not go away; come, basilisk,
And kill the innocent gazer with thy sight;
For in the shade of death I shall find joy,
In life but double death, now Gloucester's dead.
Queen. Why do you rate my Lord of Suffolk thus?
Although the duke was enemy to him,
Yet he, most Christian-like, laments his death:
And for myself, foe as he was to me,
Might liquid tears or heart-offending groans

42, 43. *And . . . breast*] 22, 23. *And . . . through a hollow voice.* 44. *Can . . . sound?*] 24. *Can satisfie my griefes, or ease my heart.* 45-47. *Hide . . . sting*] omitted Q. 48-50. *Thou . . . world*] 25, 26. *Thou . . . For euen in thine eye-bals murther sits.* 51. *Look. . . . wounding*] omitted Q. 52, 53. *Yet . . . sight*] 27, 28. *Yet . . .* (*away* omitted) *. . . silly gazer . . . lookes.* 54, 55. *For . . . dead*] omitted Q. 56. *Queen. Why . . . thus*] 29. *Queen. Why . . . thus.* 57-71. *Although . . . infamy*] 30-32. *As if that he had causde*

42. *chirping of a wren*] Shakespeare loved the "wren with little quill." No better a musician than the wren.

43. *hollow breast*] insincere, false, deceitful. See "hollow friend" below, l. 66; and compare "hollow heart," Part I. III. i. 136. The subtle alteration in this line, of "hollow voice" to "hollow breast," is to be noticed.

44. *first-conceived*] Compare "new-conceived," *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 96. Marlowe used it in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. III. ii. 12: "As it hath changed my *first-conceived* disdain."

45. *sugared words*] See Part I. III. iii. 18 (note). "*Sugared* speache" occurs in Hall's *Chronicle* in this reign (XXXV Yere). Hawes gets very near it in *Pastime of Pleasure* (reprint, Percy Soc., p. 159), 1509: "These men, with *sugred* mouthes so eloquente." Peele has "With *sugred words* how hath she fed my senses night and day" (*Sir Clyomon*, Dyce, 516, b), which is probably as early as anything of Greene's. Marlowe has "*sugred words*" near the end of *Tamburlaine*, Part II. Fabyan speaks of the "moost excellent wysdome and moost *sugryd* eloquence" of Henry the VII. (1811, p. 678) (1576).

49. *eye-balls*] Perhaps the *Contention* is the earliest example of this as one word. It occurs also in *Venus and Adonis* and in *Lucrece*, whose language has much in common with *Henry VI.* See III. ii. 169.

52. *basilisk*] A very old belief, occurring in Sir John Maundevile, *circa* 1400, and earlier. See l. 324 below, and Part III. III. ii. 187.

53. *gazer*] Again with "basilisk" in *3 Henry VI.* The word is in *Faerie Queene*, II. iii. 22: "*gazer's* sense."

60. *liquid tears*] Conveys the sense of quantities, floods of tears. Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (Dyce, 475, a):—

"O would our eyes were conduits to our hearts,
And that our hearts were seas of *liquid* blood."

And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. v. iii. (73, b): "our hearts all drown'd in *tears* of blood."

60. *heart-offending*] Compare "eye-offending," *Twelfth Night*, I. i. 30. As

Or blood-consuming sighs recall his life,
I would be blind with weeping, sick with groans,
Look pale as primrose with blood-drinking sighs,
And all to have the noble duke alive.
What know I how the world may deem of me?
For it is known we were but hollow friends:
It may be judged I made the duke away:
So shall my name with slander's tongue be wounded,
And princes' courts be filled with my reproach.
This get I by his death: ay me, unhappy!
To be a queen, and crowned with infamy!
King. Ah! woe is me for Gloucester, wretched man.
Queen. Be woe for me, more wretched than he is.
What, dost thou turn away and hide thy face?
I am no loathsome leper; look on me.
What! art thou, like the adder, waxen deaf?

Duke Humphreys death? The Duke and I too, you know were enemies. And you had best say that I did murther him. 72. *for . . . man*] 33. *for wretched Glosters death.* 73. *is*] 34. *was.* 74, 75. *What, dost . . . me*] 35,36. *What dost . . . leoper . . . me.* 76-81. *What! art thou . . . alehouse sign*] omitted Q.

sighs consume blood so groans hurt the heart. Compare *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 82: "Let . . . my heart cool with mortifying groan."

61. *blood-consuming*] Compare "sap-consuming," *Comedy of Errors*, v. i. 312. Compare Marlowe's *Edward II.* (199, b):—

"the miserable queen
Whose pining heart her inward sighs have blasted."

63. *pale as primrose*] Compare Golding's *Ovid*, xiii. 929 (Polyphemus' courtship): "More whyght thou art then *Primrose* leaf" (meaning the leaf of the flower).

63. *blood-drinking*] preying on the blood. We have had the word already in sense of "blood-thirsty" (*1 Henry VI.* II. iv. 108). In *Titus Andronicus* (II. iii. 224) it means soaked with blood. Craig writes here: "It was believed that sighing was injurious to the heart-blood." Compare *Hamlet*, IV. vii. 123, 124; and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 97. In Part III. IV. iv. 22, "blood-sucking sighs" has the same sense. See "blood-sucker," below, l. 226. See note in Part III. The idea is developed in Warwick's speech below, ll. 160-167. Warwick is all Shakespeare's be it remembered. This idea is still found in Northern folk-lore.

66. *hollow friends*] See Part III. IV. i. 139.

67. *I made the duke away*] The *Contention* words, "you had best say that," etc., are often found in Shakespeare—"you had best," or "you were best," and are still used provincially.

68. *slander's tongue*] More often "slanderous tongue," as in *Measure for Measure*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Richard III.*

76. *like the adder*] See Psalm lviii. 4; and Sonnet 112, and *Troilus and Cressida*, II. ii. 172. A common belief or reference. It is in Greene, *Farewell to Follie* (Grosart, ix. 273): "*like the deafe Addar* that heareth not the sorcerers charme." And again at p. 310; and elsewhere in Greene. But it is not generally known how the adder does it. Peter de la Primaudaye (trans. by T. Bowes, 1586) tells us in bk. i. chap. vi. (*French Academie*): "do as the serpent doth that stoppeth her eares with her taile to the ende she may not heare the charmes and sorceries of the inchanter." Steevens quotes from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, I. fol. x.:—

"He leyeth downe his one eare all plat
Unto the grounde and halt it fast:
And eke that other eare als faste
He stoppeth with his taille."

Primaudaye left a vagueness about that other ear.

76. *waxen deaf*] Compare Greene's *George-a-Greene* (Grosart, xiv. 125):

Be poisonous too and kill thy forlorn queen.
Is all thy comfort shut in Gloucester's tomb?
Why, then, Dame Eleanor was ne'er thy joy:
Erect his statuë and worship it,
And make my image but an alehouse sign.
Was I for this nigh wrecked upon the sea,
And twice by awkward wind from England's bank
Drove back again unto my native clime?
What boded this, but well forewarning wind
Did seem to say "Seek not a scorpion's nest,
Nor set no footing on this unkind shore"?
What did I then, but cursed the gentle gusts
And he that loosed them forth their brazen caves;
And bid them blow towards England's blessed shore,
Or turn our stern upon a dreadful rock.
Yet Æolus would not be a murderer,
But left that hateful office unto thee:
The pretty vaulting sea refused to drown me,

82-84. *Was I . . . clime?*] 37, 38. *Was I . . . wrackt . . . thrise . . . winds driuen back from Englands bounds.* 85, 86. *What . . . nest*] 39, 40. *What might it bode, but that well foretelling Winds, said, seeke not a scorpions neast.* 87-121. *Nor set no . . . live so long*] omitted Q.

"Why, men of Wakefield, are you *waxen* madde." But Peele has "*waxen* dim" (of eyes) earlier, in *The Arraignment of Paris* (369, a), and in *The Tale of Troy* (556, a).

80. *statuë*] To be pronounced (as it often was) statuë, or statua. Most editors spell it "statua," and there is authority for the word at this date. But none in the Folio. See Kyd's *Cornelia*, IV. ii. 190:—

"And his *statuës* new set
With many a fresh-flowrd Coronet."

And in Marlowe (end of Act ii.), *Tamburlaine*, Part II.: "And here will I set up her statuë."

81. *alehouse sign*] See again below, v. ii. 67, and *Titus Andronicus*, IV. ii. 98.

83. *awkward*] adverse, contrary. Malone quotes Marlowe's *Edward II.*:—

"With *awkward* wind, and with sore tempests driven
To fall on shore"

(IV. vi.). Here it belongs to the earlier *Contention*, and the expression suggests Marlowe's hand therein at this point.

83. *England's bank*] England's shore. *New Eng. Dict.* has several earlier examples, this being the latest of "bank" meaning the sea-shore. "England's bounds" in *Contention*. "The banks of England" occurs in *1 Henry IV*. "Bounds of France" occurs *1 Henry VI*. I. ii. 24. "And of that parte that is nygh to the Scotish *bancke* he layed watches that none shoulde goo oute" (Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 437, 1543).

85. *well forewarning*] predicting truthfully. "Well foretelling" of the *Contention* would have done nicely! Here, as in the last example, and in many other cases, the changes seem to have been made quite arbitrarily in pursuance of a pre-arrangement, Why change "thrice" to "twice" at line 83? Simply for rewriting's sake.

89. *brazen*] extremely strong, impregnable. Compare "*brazen* gates" (*3 Henry VI*. II. iii. 40) and "*brazen* wall" (*ibid.* II. iv. 4). See quotation from Peele's *Edward I.* (Dyce, 378, a) at I. iv. 45 in Part I. Golding places the winds of Æolus in "pryson cloce." See Virgil's *Æneid*, i. 52-54, for the cave. "*Brazen* walls" is in Jeremiah i. 18, xv. 20 (Wyclif).

90. *England's blessed shore*] For "blessed," see *Richard II*. II. i. 50; applied to England. And see quotation at "chalky cliffs" (l. 101) for "England's shore."

94. *pretty vaulting sea*] agreeable

Knowing that thou would'st have me drowned on shore
With tears as salt as sea through thy unkindness:
The splitting rocks cowered in the sinking sands,
And would not dash me with their ragged sides,
Because thy flinty heart, more hard than they,
Might in thy palace perish Eleanor.
As far as I could ken thy chalky cliffs,
When from the shore the tempest beat us back,
I stood upon the hatches in the storm,
And when the dusky sky began to rob
My earnest gaping sight of thy land's view,
I took a costly jewel from my neck,
A heart it was, bound in with diamonds,
And threw it towards thy land: the sea received it,
And so I wished thy body might my heart:
And even with this I lost fair England's view,
And bid mine eyes be packing with my heart,
And called them blind and dusky spectacles

bounding sea. Rather a nerveless expression, made worse by Dyce's hyphen. Dyce revelled in hyphens. "Pretty" applies to the sea, not to its jumping habit!

97. *splitting rocks*] rocks formed for the purpose of splitting (ships). At line 411 below, the "splitted bark" is the comment often applied to a ship by Shakespeare, as in *Tempest*, *Twelfth Night*, *3 Henry VI.* v. iv. 10, *Pericles* and *Comedy of Errors*.

98. *ragged*] Applied to a rock again in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii. 121, and in *3 Henry VI.* v. iv. 27. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, vi. 92, 93:—

"Neptune's standing striking with
his long threetyned blade
Upon the *ragged* Rocke."

It is in Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 21.

99. *flinty heart*] See Part III. II. i. 202. Compare Greene, *A Looking Glasse for London* (Grosart, xiv. 14): "whose *flintie hearts* have felt no sweet remorse." But it occurs earlier in Latimer.

100. *perish*] destroy.

101. *ken*] to discern at sea. An old nautical use. "Within a *ken*" occurs twice in Shakespeare (*Cymbeline* and *2 Henry IV.*), and "within akenning," formerly used the same way, is still heard. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, vii. 627, 628:—

"the Cretish fleete he *kend*
Which thitherward with puffed
sayles and wind at will did tend."

101. *chalky cliffs*] See *Comedy of Errors*, III. ii. 129. This is in Peele. Compare *A Farewell* (549, a), 1589:—

"Bid England's shore (see l. 90 above)
and Albions *chalky cliffs*
Farewell: bid stately Troynovant.
adieu."

And in *The Old Wives Tale* (447, a):—

"Upon these *chalky cliffs* of Albion
We are arrived now."

Shakespeare is indebted to Peele here; but Peele never wrote this speech.

103. *I stood upon the hatches*] Compare Golding's *Ovid*, bk. xi. 537, 538 (one of the loveliest passages in a lovable book):—

"Shee lifting up her watrye eye, behilld her husband stand
Uppon the hatches, making signes
by beckening with his hand"

(Alcyone seeing King Ceyx's departure). And see xi. 614: "*Uppon the hatches* like a fo victoriously it gat" (the tenth wave). "Dusky night" occurs xv. line 35.

104. *dusky*] See Part I. II. ii. 27; and last note.

107. *heart . . . bound in with diamonds*] See note at "A lady wall'd about with diamonds," *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 3, Arden edition.

111. *be packing*] get away (with the heart ornament).

112. *spectacles*] The eyes are compared to blurred or broken spectacles. Schmidt's "organs of vision" is surely misleading.

For losing ken of Albion's wished coast.
How often have I tempted Suffolk's tongue,
The agent of thy foul inconstancy,
To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did
When he to madding Dido would unfold
His father's acts, commenced in burning Troy!
Am I not witched like her? or thou not false like him?
Ay me! I can no more. Die, Eleanor!
For Henry weeps that thou dost live so long.

Noise within. Enter WARWICK, SALISBURY, *and many Commons.*

War. It is reported, mighty sovereign,
That good Duke Humphrey traitorously is murdered
By Suffolk and the Cardinal Beaufort's means.
The commons, like an angry hive of bees
That want their leader, scatter up and down,
And care not who they sting in his revenge.
Myself have calmed their spleenful mutiny,
Until they hear the order of his death.
King. That he is dead, good Warwick, 'tis too true;
But how he died God knows, not Henry.

122-129. *Noise within . . . War. It is reported . . . death*] 41-44. *Enter the Earles of Warwicke and Salisbury. War. My Lord, the Commons . . . bees* (line 125) *Run vp and downe, caring not whom they sting, For good Duke Humphreys death, whom they report To be murthered by Suffolke and the Cardinall here.* 130, 131. *King. That . . . not Henry*] 46, 47. *King. That . . . not Henry.*

113. *losing ken*] See note, l. 110, above.

113. *wished*] longed for. See Part I. III. iii. 28; *Comedy of Errors*, I. i. 91. Compare Peele:—

"And welcome *wished* England, on whose ground
These feet so often have desir'd to tread"

(*Edward I.*, Dyce, 378, a). And see note at Part I. III. iii. 28.

116. *witch me*] bewitch me. This is Theobald's accepted correction. The Folios read "watch."

117. *madding*] A favourite word with Peele, Kyd, etc.:—

"What grief, what pinching pain, like young men's love,
That makes me *madding* run thus to and fro?"

(*Edward I.*, Dyce, 391, b). And *The Old Wives Tale*:—

"See where Venelia, my betrothed love
Runs *madding*, all enraged, about the woods"

(447, b, and again 457, b). And "these *madding* Greeks" occurs in his *Tale of Troy* (555, a), 1589.

120. *I can no more*] Occurs again line 365 below; and often elsewhere in Shakespeare, as *Hamlet*, v. ii. 331; *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xv. 59, etc. My strength fails me (Schmidt).

125. *commons . . . hive of bees*] Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw*:—

"It was a world to see what troops of men
Like bees that swarm about the honeyhive,
'Gan strew the gravel ground and sandy plain"

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 395). For "sandy plains," see above, I. iv. 39 (note).

128. *spleenful*] See *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 191. "Hot, eager" (Schmidt). Shakespeare is particularly fond of drawing illustrations and expressions from the spleen. He has also "spleeny" and "splenetive."

129. *order*] manner.

Enter his chamber, view his breathless corpse,
And comment then upon his sudden death.
War. That I shall do, my liege. Stay, Salisbury,
With the rude multitude till I return.
[*Exeunt Warwick and Salisbury.*
King. O! thou that judgest all things, stay my thoughts,
My thoughts that labour to persuade my soul
Some violent hands were laid on Humphrey's life.
If my suspect be false, forgive me, God,
For judgment only doth belong to thee.
Fain would I go to chafe his paly lips
With twenty thousand kisses, and to drain
Upon his face an ocean of salt tears,
To tell my love unto his dumb deaf trunk,
And with my fingers feel his hand unfeeling:
But all in vain are these mean obsequies,
And to survey his dead and earthy image
What were it but to make my sorrow greater?

132, 133. *Enter . . . death*] 47. *War. Enter his priuie chamber my Lord and view the bodie.* 134, 135. *War. That I shall . . . return*] 48, 49 (*War.*) *Good father staie you with the rude multitude, till I returne. Salb. I will sonne. Exet Salisbury.* 136-148. *King, O thou . . . greater*] omitted Q.

132. *breathless*] lifeless. See *1 Henry IV.* v. iii. 16; *Richard II.* v. vi. 31, and *King John*, iv. iii. 66. The passage in *King John* is the earliest in *New Eng. Dict.* But it is a Peele and Greene word:—

"till my gasping ghost
Do part asunder from my *breathlesse* corpes"

(Greene, *Alphonsus of Arragon*, Grosart, xiii. 364). Peele has it in *Edward I.*: "*Breathless* he lies and headless too, my lord" (409, b); and:—

"see in royal pomp
These *breathless* bodies be entombed straight
With 'tired colours cover'd all with black"

(414, b), likely to be Peele's, since he coined many such words. See quotation at "bloodless," line 162 below.

133. *comment*] The verb is only in Shakespeare's early work: *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. i. 42, *Venus and Adonis*, 714, and Sonnets 15 and 89. To make remarks, or pass opinions on; to reason about. First used by Shakespeare in this manner.

139. *suspect*] suspicion. Several times in these early plays, and in the poems. See note at "suspense," III. i. 140.

141. *chafe his lips*] warm them. The same expression is in *Venus and Adonis*, 477, the same stanzas as "wring his nose," above, line 34:—

"He bends her fingers, holds her pulses hard,
He *chafes her lips*."

See *Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 21:—

"To rubbe her temples and to *chaufe* her chin . . .
So hardly he the flitted life does win."

"To rub the temples" occurs in *Othello*.

141. *paly*] See again *Henry V.* IV. (Chorus, 8), and *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 100.

142. *twenty thousand*] See above, III. i. 350 (note), "ten thousand souls." Meaning "a great many"; this is only a little less common than "ten thousand" in Shakespeare. See below, III. ii. 206, and *Coriolanus*, III. iii. 70, etc. Compare Daniel vii. 10: "thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him."

143. *ocean of salt tears*] "an ocean of his tears" occurs in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. vii. 69. "Seas of tears" is found in *3 Henry VI.* II. v. 106. "To drowne thee with an *ocean of my teares*" is in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 23 (Boas).

Re-enter WARWICK *and others, bearing* GLOUCESTER'S *body on a bed.*

War. Come hither, gracious sovereign, view this body.
King. That is to see how deep my grave is made;
For with his soul fled all my worldly solace,
For seeing him I see my life in death.
War. As surely as my soul intends to live
With that dread King that took our state upon him
To free us from his Father's wrathful curse,
I do believe that violent hands were laid
Upon the life of this thrice-famed duke.
Suf. A dreadful oath, sworn with a solemn tongue!
What instance gives Lord Warwick for his vow?
War. See how the blood is settled in his face.
Oft have I seen a timely-parted ghost,
Of ashy semblance, meagre, pale, and bloodless,
Being all descended to the labouring heart;

149. *Re-enter Warwick . . . War. Come . . . body*] 49. *Warwicke drawes the curtaines and showes Duke Humphrey in his bed* (for line 149, see 131 above). 150-152. *King. That is . . . in death*] 50, 51. *King. Ah vnkle Gloster, heauen receiue thy soule. Farewell poore Henries ioy, now thou art gone.* 153, 154. *War. As surely . . . upon him*] 52. *War. Now by his soule that tooke our shape vpon him.* 155-157. *To free . . . duke*] 53-55. *To free . . . dreadfull curse, I am resolued . . . thrise famous Duke.* 158, 159. *A dreadfull . . . his vow?*] 56, 57. *A dreadfull . . . these words?* 160. *See how . . . face*] 60, 61. *But loe . . . face, More better coloured then when he liu'd.* 161, 162. *Oft . . . bloodless*] 58, 59. *Oft . . .* (*meagre* omitted) . . . *bloodless.* 163-171. *Being all . . . struggling*] omitted Q.

157. *thrice-famed*] "thrice famous" in *Contention*. "Thrice-famed" occurs in *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 254, again. See note at "thrice-noble," III. i. 266. And see Introduction. "Thrice valiant" has occurred above in Q 1, i.

159. *instance*] proof; as often in Shakespeare. See *Troilus and Cressida*, v. ii. 153, 155.

160. *blood is settled*] The symptoms are carefully elaborated from the *Contention*. "Settled" means stagnated; see further in *2 Henry IV.* IV. iii. 112; and in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. v. 26. For "more better" here in *Contention*, see many illustrations in Schmidt at "more" (739, a). "More better" occurs in *The Tempest* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

161. *Oft have I seen . . .*] See "Oft have I heard . . ." below, IV. iv. 1. And in *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 149. Compare Kyd's *Cornelia*, v. i. 4: "*Oft have I seene* the ends of mightier men," etc. Golding has "So *have I seen* . . ." several times, to introduce a simile.

161. *timely-parted ghost*] a dead person departed in a timely or natural manner. Compare "untimely," *3 Henry VI.* III. iii. 187. And for "ghost" meaning a dead body, see *Hamlet*, I. iv. 85. "Part" (verb) meaning "die" occurs several times (*Macbeth*, *1 Henry VI.*, etc.).

161, 162. *ghost . . . bloodless*] In Golding's *Ovid*, x. 43: "the *bloodlesse ghostes* shed teares." And in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* (Prologue):—

> "*bloodless ghosts* in pains of endless date
> Fill ruthless ears with never-ceasing cries."

See Malone and Steevens here for other examples of "ghost" meaning corpse.

162. *ashy semblance*] Compare Golding's *Ovid*, iv. 324: "a pale ashcolourd herbe cleane voyde of bloud." Malone quotes from Spenser's *Ruins of Rome:* "Ye pallid spirits and ye *ashy* ghosts."

162, 163. *bloodless, Being all descended*] because the blood is all descended. See above, line 63.

Who, in the conflict that it holds with death,
Attracts the same for aidance 'gainst the enemy;
Which with the heart there cools, and ne'er returneth
To blush and beautify the cheek again.
But see, his face is black and full of blood,
His eye-balls further out than when he lived,
Staring full ghastly like a strangled man;
His hair upreared, his nostrils stretched with struggling;
His hands abroad displayed, as one that grasped
And tugged for life, and was by strength subdued.
Look, on the sheets his hair, you see, is sticking;
His well-proportioned beard made rough and rugged,
Like to the summer's corn by tempest lodged.

172, 173. *His hands . . . subdued*] 63, 64. *His fingers spred abroad as one that graspt for life, Yet was by strength surpriside.* 174. *Look, . . . sticking*] omitted Q. 175. *His . . . rugged*] 62. *His . . . sterne.* 176. *Like . . . lodged*] omitted Q.

165. *aidance*] assistance. Another *Venus and Adonis* word (line 330), occurring nowhere else in Shakespeare. It is not known elsewhere until a later date.

169. *eye-balls*] See note at line 49 above. Compare Cyril Tourneur, *Atheists Tragedy*, II. iv. (Pearson, i. 54):—

"Dead be your tongues! Drop out
Mine *eyeballs*, and let envious Fortune play
At tennis with 'em."

171. *upreared*] raised. See Sonnet 49, and *2 Henry IV.* II. iv. 214. This inharmonious form of compound was not a favourite with Shakespeare. Spenser has several of them, including the present one:—

"So beene they both at one, and doen *upreare*
Their bevers bright each other for to greet"

(*Faerie Queene*, II. i. 29), and several times elsewhere.

172. *abroad*] Malone quotes Peacham, *Complete Gentleman*, 1627: "hold up his hand, stretch his fingers *abroad*," where we say "widely." Compare Kyd's *Cornelia*, III. i. 102:—

"I mou'd mine head and flonge *abroade* mine armes
To entertaine him"

(Boas).

172. *displayed*] spread about, stretched out. The earliest signification of the word:—

"And the old woman carefully *displayed*
The clothes about her round"

(*Faerie Queene*, III. ii. 47).

175. *well-proportioned*] well-shaped. Very much importance was attached to the wear of the beard at this time. See notes to *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. iv. 20, and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. ii. 92 *seq.*, etc. This compound adjective occurs again in *Venus and Adonis*, 290. Nothing could be more probably disclosed than that Shakespeare wrote this scene at the same time as he wrote *Venus and Adonis* (eyeballs, aidance, chafe lips, wring nose, comment). "Well-proportioned" is in *Soliman and Perseda*, III. i.

175. *rough and rugged*] Note that "rough and stern" of *Contention* here is transferred to "Suffolk's imperial tongue is rough and stern," below (IV. i. 125); an emendation that points to one workman, and he a very careful one. Compare "stern" below, in line 213.

176. *corn . . . lodged*] See *Richard II.* III. iii. 162, and *Macbeth*, IV. i. 55. In provincial use. See Holland's *Plinie*, xviii. chap. xvii. p. 574, 1601: "the *corne* standeth not upright, but is *lodged* and lieth along." "Along" here (at length) parallels "abroad" above. This, of Holland, is the only literary use I know of, of the date. An expressly Shakespearian application.

It cannot be but he was murdered here;
The least of all these signs were probable.
Suf. Why, Warwick, who should do the duke to death?
Myself and Beaufort had him in protection;
And we, I hope, sir, are no murderers.
War. But both of you were vowed Duke Humphrey's foes,
And you, forsooth, had the good duke to keep:
'Tis like you would not feast him like a friend,
And 'tis well seen he found an enemy.
Queen. Then you, belike, suspect these noblemen
As guilty of Duke Humphrey's timeless death.
War. Who finds the heifer dead, and bleeding fresh,
And sees fast by a butcher with an axe,
But will suspect 'twas he that made the slaughter?
Who finds the partridge in the puttock's nest,
But may imagine how the bird was dead,
Although the kite soar with unbloodied beak?
Even so suspicious is this tragedy.
Queen. Are you the butcher, Suffolk? where 's your knife?
Is Beaufort termed a kite? where are his talons?
Suf. I wear no knife to slaughter sleeping men;

177, 178. *It cannot be . . . probable*] 64($\frac{1}{2}$), 65. *the least of these are probable, It cannot chuse but he was murthered.* 179-181. *Suf. Why, Warwick . . . murderers*] 66, 67. *Queene. Suffolke and the Cardinall had him in charge, And they I trust sir, are no murtherers.* 182-185. *War. But both . . . enemy*] 68, 69. *War. I, but twas well knowne they were not his friends, And . . . some enemies.* 186, 187. *Queen. Then you . . . timeless death*] 70. *Card. But haue you no greater proofes than these?* 188-194. *War. Who finds the . . . fast by . . . may imagine . . . was dead . . . unbloodied . . . tragedy*] 71-77. *War. Who sees a . . . hard by . . . will imagine . . . came there . . . vnbloodie . . . Tragidie.* 195. *Queen. butcher, Suffolk . . . knife?*] 78. *Queene. kyte Bewford . . . talents?* 196. *Is . . . talons*] 79. *Is Suffolke the butcher, where's his knife?* 197-202. *I wear no . . . ease . . . dar'st . . . faulty . . . death*] 80-85. *I weare no . . . case . . . dare . . . guiltie . . . death. Exet Cardinall.*

177. *It cannot be*] *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 56, repeats this line: "*It cannot be* but thou hast murdered him."

178. *The least of all these*] Compare *Locrine* (by Peele and Greene?): "God knows it were the *least of all* my thought" (I. i.).

184. *'Tis like*] see "'tis great like," at the end of last scene.

187. *timeless*] untimely. See Part I. v. iv. 5 (note). "Timeless death" is an expression of Marlowe's (end of *Tamburlaine*, Part II.)

191. *puttock*] kite. One of the many homely provincial terms made use of by Shakespeare in his metaphors instead of dragons and tigers. Spenser identifies the puttock with the kite in the *Faerie Queene*, v. v. 15, a part of that poem that may have been written later than the *Contention*. "Puttok bryd. *Milvus*" (*Prompt. Parv.* (*circa* 1440)). Compare Nashe, *Christes Teares:* "The Henne clocketh her Chickins . . . The Henne shieldeth them and fighteth for them against the *Puttocke*" (Grosart, iv. 62), 1593. On these poetical images see above, III. i. 212.

193. *unbloodied*] A more vivid word than the previous "unbloody." See note at "rough and rugged," line 175 above.

But here 's a vengeful sword, rusted with ease,
That shall be scoured in his rancorous heart
That slanders me with murder's crimson badge.
Say, if thou dar'st, proud Lord of Warwickshire,
That I am faulty in Duke Humphrey's death.

[*Exeunt Cardinal and others.*

War. What dares not Warwick, if false Suffolk dare him?

Queen. He dares not calm his contumelious spirit,
Nor cease to be an arrogant controller,
Though Suffolk dare him twenty thousand times.

War. Madam, be still, with reverence may I say;
For every word you speak in his behalf
Is slander to your royal dignity.

Suf. Blunt-witted lord, ignoble in demeanour!
If ever lady wronged her lord so much,
Thy mother took into her blameful bed
Some stern untutored churl, and noble stock
Was graft with crab-tree slip; whose fruit thou art,

203. *What . . . him?*] 86. *What . . . him?* 204-206. *He dares . . . thousand times*] 87-89. *He dares not . . . hundredth times.* 207-209. *Madam . . . say; For . . . behalf . . . dignity*] 90-92. *Madame . . . say it, That . . . defence . . . Maiestie.* 210-215. *Blunt-witted . . . demeanour . . . into her . . . noble race*] 93-98. *Blunt-witted . . . thy words . . . vnto her . . . noble race.*

198. *vengeful*] Occurs again Sonnet 99, and *Titus Andronicus*, v. ii. 51.

198. *rusted with ease*] "case" of *Contention* is corrected in its later editions. Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 187: "Adieu valor, *rust* rapier"; and *Coriolanus*, IV. v. 234: "Peace is nothing but to *rust* iron."

199. *scoured*] See "scouring armour," above, I. iii. 195. Note the absolute identity of these two speeches, so thoroughly Shakespearian as they are undoubtedly, with the *Contention* version.

199. *rancorous*] See III. i. 24; Part I. IV. i. 185; and *Comedy of Errors*, I. i. 6. Not in his later work.

202. *faulty*] guilty. See *Henry VIII.* v. iii. 75.

204. *contumelious*] See Part I. I. iii. 58, and I. iv. 39; and *Timon of Athens*, v. i. 177. Not in any of the later work.

205. *controller*] censorious critic, detractor. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from Drant's *Horace*, 1566. Shakespeare has it again only in *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 60. Side by side with *Venus and Adonis*, that play affords various parallels for *Henry VI.* words, hardly found elsewhere in Shakespeare, not common anywhere. In the case of the play we cannot disassociate ourselves from Peele. See "black as jet," above, II. i. 112; and "vengeful," l. 198. And "gloomy," Part I. v. iv. 89.

206. *twenty thousand times*] See note at "twenty thousand kisses," l. 142, above.

210. *Blunt-witted*] Compare "quick-witted" (*Taming of the Shrew*, v. ii. 38), "beef-witted," "fat-witted," etc. There are ten of them altogether in Shakespeare. Nashe has "tame-witted" (Grosart, iii. 72).

213. *stern*] rough, rugged. See note at these words, l. 175 above. Used here in a general sense.

213. *untutored*] See again *3 Henry VI.* v. v. 32. Occurs also in *Lucrece*, Ded. 3 (of verses), and in Sonnet 138. Ignorant, boorish, unmannered.

214. *crab-tree slip*] See note at "slips of such a stock," II. ii. 58 above. "Slip" in this sense is used several times by Shakespeare, as a sliver or cutting. "Scion," perhaps a correct word, is used also in *Winter's Tale*, *Henry V.* and *Othello*, I. iii. 337 (see note, Arden edition, p. 54). For the crab-tree graft, see *Coriolanus*, II. i. 206. Compare

And never of the Nevils' noble race.
War. But that the guilt of murder bucklers thee,
And I should rob the deathsman of his fee,
Quitting thee thereby of ten thousand shames,
And that my sovereign's presence makes me mild,
I would, false murderous coward, on thy knee
Make thee beg pardon for thy passed speech,
And say it was thy mother that thou meant'st;
That thou thyself wast born in bastardy:
And after all this fearful homage done,
Give thee thy hire and send thy soul to hell,
Pernicious blood-sucker of sleeping men!
Suf. Thou shalt be waking while I shed thy blood,
If from this presence thou dar'st go with me.
War. Away even now, or I will drag thee hence:
Unworthy though thou art, I 'll cope with thee,
And do some service to Duke Humphrey's ghost.
[*Exeunt Suffolk and Warwick.*
King. What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted!
Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just,

216-226. *But that . . . deathsman . . . mild . . . knee . . . beg pardon . . . mean'st . . . wast . . . sleeping men*] 99-109. *But that . . . deathsman . . . mute . . . knees . . . craue pardon . . . meants . . . was . . . sleeping men.* 227, 228. *Thou shalt . . . while . . . dar'st . . . me*] 110, 111. *Thou shouldst . . . whilst . . . dare . . . with me.* 229. *War. Away . . . hence*] 112. *War. Away . . . hence.* (Warwicke puls him out.) 230, 231. *Unworthy . . . ghost*] omitted Q. 232-235. *King. What stronger . . . corrupted. A noise . . .]* omitted Q.

Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 506: "bastarde *slyppes* shall never take depe rootes." [See Apocrypha, Wisdom iv. 3.]

216. *bucklers*] shields. "'Tis not the king can *buckler* Gaveston" (Marlowe, *Edward II.* (191, b)).

217. *deathsman*] executioner. See *3 Henry VI.* v. v. 67, and *King Lear*, IV. vi. 263. A favourite word with Greene. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from *Menaphon* (vi. 143), 1589. See also *Tullie's Love* (Grosart, vii. 145); *Metamorphosis* (ix. 110, 112); *Groatsworth of Wit* (xii. 145). In the latter passage it occurs figuratively, immediately after the "upstart crow" passage. This is one of the "feathers."

218. *ten thousand*] See note at "ten thousand," III. i. 350.

221. *passed*] uttered.

222. *meant'st*] See Introduction. Compare "suckedst" (*1 Henry VI.* v. iv. 28), and "dippedst" (*3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 157).

226. *blood-sucker*] "a bloodthirsty or bloodguilty person; one who draws or sheds the blood of another" (*New Eng. Dict.*). This instance is not quoted, but there are earlier ones in that great work: "The seventh blood-sucker after Nero" (1577, tr. Bullinger's *Decades* (1592), p. 315). But there may be some other allusion. See note at "blood-drinking," l. 63 above.

232. *breastplate*] From the figurative use in the Bible, "breastplate of righteousness," "breastplate of faith." This speech with the ancient and orthodox maxims is not in the *Contention.* It is part of the developed holiness of Henry's character, already noticed.

233. *quarrel just*] For the converse sentiment, see *Much Ado About Nothing*, v. i. 120. Malone quotes "Marlowe's *Lust's Dominion*":—

"Come, Moor; I'm arm'd with more than complete steel,
The *justice* of my *quarrel.*"

This vile and unnatural play, without a

And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.
[*A noise within.*

Queen. What noise is this?

Re-enter SUFFOLK *and* WARWICK, *with their weapons drawn.*

King. Why, how now, lords! your wrathful weapons drawn
Here in our presence! dare you be so bold?
Why, what tumultuous clamour have we here?
Suf. The traitorous Warwick, with the men of Bury,
Set all upon me, mighty sovereign.
Sal. [*to the Commons entering*]. Sirs, stand apart; the king shall know your mind.
Dread lord, the commons send you word by me,
Unless false Suffolk straight be done to death,
Or banished fair England's territories,
They will by violence tear him from your palace
And torture him with grievous lingering death.
They say, by him the good Duke Humphrey died;
They say, in him they fear your highness' death;
And mere instinct of love and loyalty,
Free from a stubborn opposite intent,
As being thought to contradict your liking,

236. *Queen. What . . . this?*] omitted Q. 237. *Re-enter Suffolk . . . King. Why . . . Lords!*] 113. *Exet Warwicke and Suffolke, and then all the Commons within, cries, downe with Suffolke, downe with Suffolke. And then enter againe, the Duke of Suffolke and Warwicke, with their weapons drawne. King. Why how now Lords?* 240, 241. *Suf. The traitorous . . . sovereign*] 114, 115. *The Traitorous . . . soueraigne. The Commons againe cries, downe with Suffolke, downe with Suffolke. And then enter from them the Earle of Salbury.* 242. *Sal. Sirs . . . mind*] omitted Q. 243-249. *Dread lord . . . send . . . Unless . . . straight . . . They . . . palace And . . . death* (line omitted). *They say . . . died; They say . . . death*] 116-121. *My Lord . . . sends . . . The unlesse . . . here . . . That they will erre from your highnesse person, They say . . . died, They say by him they feare the ruine of the realme.* 250-269. *And mere . . . bereft of life*] 122, 123. *And therefore if you loue your subiects weale, They wish you to banish him from foorth the land.*

redeeming quality, was printed with Marlowe's name in 1657. It is difficult to imagine how Malone endorsed such a slander. It is in Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. xiv.

244. *done to death*] See *Much Ado About Nothing*, v. iii. 3, and elsewhere. See Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* (at the end): "*done to death* with many a mortal wound."

245-247. *banished . . . and torture him*] "The Commons of the lower house, not forgetting their olde grudge, beseched the King, that such persons as assented to the relese of Angeow and deliueraunce of Maine might be extremely punished, and tormented . . . they accused, as principall, the Duke of Suffolke" (Grafton, p. 639). See note at IV. i. 86.

252. *contradict*] oppose, thwart. Compare *Locrine*, I. i.:—

"far be it from any maiden's thoughts
To *contradict* her aged father's will."

Makes them thus forward in his banishment.
They say, in care of your most royal person,
That if your highness should intend to sleep,
And charge that no man should disturb your rest
In pain of your dislike or pain of death,
Yet, notwithstanding such a strait edict,
Were there a serpent seen, with forked tongue,
That slily glided towards your majesty,
It were but necessary you were waked,
Lest, being suffered in that harmful slumber,
The mortal worm might make the sleep eternal:
And therefore do they cry, though you forbid,
That they will guard you, whe'r you will or no,
From such fell serpents as false Suffolk is;
With whose envenomed and fatal sting,
Your loving uncle, twenty times his worth,
They say, is shamefully bereft of life.

Commons. [*Within.*] An answer from the king, my Lord of Salisbury!

Suf. 'Tis like the commons, rude unpolished hinds,
Could send such message to their sovereign;
But you, my lord, were glad to be employed,
To show how quaint an orator you are:
But all the honour Salisbury hath won
Is that he was the lord ambassador,
Sent from a sort of tinkers to the king.

270. *Commons. An answer . . . Salisbury!*] omitted Q. 271-277. *Suf. 'Tis like . . . Could . . . To show . . . are . . . won . . . ambassador . . . king*] 124-130. *Suf. Indeed tis like . . . Would . . . To trie . . . were . . . got . . . Embassador . . . King.*

259. *serpent*] The snake in the grass is an abundantly common simile and has occurred already; and in the Chronicles often. But it is very uncouthly dragged in here in the very heat of an uproar. Written for stuffing? It is not in the *Contention.*

263. *mortal*] deadly, fatal.

263. *worm*] snake. Golding has "uncouth *worm*" with "flecked spots" of a lizard (*Ovid*, v. 570-574). Often in Shakespeare.

265. *will or no*] See Part I. IV. vii. 25, and *Richard III.* III. i. 23; and in *Twelfth Night*, etc. And in (Peele's) *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 390): "be they men of any *worth or no?*" See next scene, l. 10, where the expression here occurs again, in both texts.

269. *bereft of life*] See Part III. II. v. 93, and *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 282; both in different construction from the phrase as here. Compare *Locrine*, I. i.:—

> "by the weapons of unpartial death
> Is clove asunder and *bereft of life.*"

Where the use of "impartial" is as often in Peele. Compare Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda*, v. v. 5, where Death says: "But I *bereft* them both of love and life."

270. *Commons* [*Within*] Note the profuse stage-directions here, in the *Contention.*

274. *quaint*] clever, skilful. See Part I. IV. i. 102.

277. *sort of tinkers*] See II. i. 166 (note); and *Richard II.* IV. i. 247.

Commons. [*Within.*] An answer from the king, or we will all break in!

King. Go, Salisbury, and tell them all from me,
I thank them for their tender loving care;
And had I not been cited so by them,
Yet did I purpose as they do entreat;
For sure, my thoughts do hourly prophesy
Mischance unto my state by Suffolk's means:
And therefore, by His majesty I swear,
Whose far unworthy deputy I am,
He shall not breathe infection in this air
But three days longer, on the pain of death.
[*Exit Salisbury.*

Queen. O Henry! let me plead for gentle Suffolk.

King. Ungentle queen, to call him gentle Suffolk!
No more, I say; if thou dost plead for him
Thou wilt but add increase unto my wrath.
Had I but said, I would have kept my word,
But when I swear, it is irrevocable.
If after three days' space thou here be'st found
On any ground that I am ruler of,
The world shall not be ransom for thy life.
Come, Warwick, come, good Warwick, go with me;
I have great matters to impart to thee.
[*Exeunt all but Queen and Suffolk.*

278. *Commons. An answer . . . break in*] (130, 131. Stage-direction) *The Commons cries, an answere from the King, my Lord of Salsbury.* 279-288. *King. Good . . . death*] 131-136. *King. Good Salsbury go backe againe to them, Tell them we thanke them all for their louing care, And had I not bene cited thus by their meanes, My selfe had done it. Therefore here I sweare, If Suffolke be found to breathe in any place, Where I haue rule, but three daies more, he dies. Exet Salisbury.* 289. *Queen. O Henry . . . Suffolk*] 137. *Queen. Oh Henry, reuerse the doome of gentle Suffolkes banishment.* 290-292. *King. Vngentle . . . Suffolk! No . . . wrath*] 138, 139. *King. Vngentle . . . Suffolke, Speake not for him, for in England he shall not rest.* 293, 294. *Had I . . . But when I . . . irrevocable*] 140. *If I say, I may relent, but if I . . . erreuocable.* 295-297. *If after . . . thy life*] 135-136. (See King's last speech). 298, 299. *Come, Warwick . . . go . . . I have . . . thee*] 141, 142. *Come good Warwicke and go thou in . . . For I have . . . thee.*

281. *cited*] urged, incited. See *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 34, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. iv. 85.

286. *deputy*] See *Richard II.* I. ii. 38, III. ii. 57, and IV. i. 126.

287. *breathe infection in*] breathe infection into, contaminate. For Suffolk's banishment and subsequent fate, see below, IV. i. 86 (note).

294. *irrevocable*] Note the much solemner oath, though also called "irrevocable," here, than in the *Contention*. The misprint "erreuocable" here recalls the "ironious" for "erroneous" in *3 Henry VI.* II. v. 90 (Quarto reading).

295. *three days' space*] Compare "three years' space" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 52 and 151). Peele has it earlier in *Sir Clyomon* (Dyce, 524, a): "To see if that in *three hours' space* no champion will come in." Probably much older. See Peele again, *Speeches at Theobald's* (577, a), 1591:—

"I am a hermit that this *ten years' space*
Have led a solitary and retired life."

Queen. Mischance and sorrow go along with you!
Heart's discontent and sour affliction
Be playfellows to keep you company!
There 's two of you; the devil make a third!
And threefold vengeance tend upon your steps!
Suf. Cease, gentle queen, these execrations,
And let thy Suffolk take his heavy leave.
Queen. Fie, coward woman and soft-hearted wretch!
Hast thou not spirit to curse thine enemy?
Suf. A plague upon them! wherefore should I curse them?
Would curses kill, as doth the mandrake's groan,
I would invent as bitter-searching terms,
As curst, as harsh and horrible to hear,
Delivered strongly through my fixed teeth,
With full as many signs of deadly hate,
As lean-faced Envy in her loathsome cave.
My tongue should stumble in mine earnest words;
Mine eyes should sparkle like the beaten flint;
My hair be fixed on end, as one distract;

300-302. *Queen. Mischance . . . company!*] 143. *Queen. Hell fire and vengeance go along with you.* 303. *a third*] 144. *the third.* 304-306. *And therefore . . . Suf. Cease . . . leave*] omitted Q. 307, 308. *Queen. Fie . . . enemy?*] 145. (to last speech). *Fie womanish man, canst thou not curse thine enemies?* 309-328. *Suf. A plague . . . would . . . doth . . . groan . . . as bitter searching, As curst . . . to hear* (line omitted) *Deliver'd . . . full as . . . lean fac'd . . . distract; Ay . . . even now . . . that they taste . . . Their chiefest . . . basilisks* (line omitted) *Their softest . . . as the serpents . . . concert . . . hell*] 146-163. *Suffolke. A plague . . . could . . . do . . . groans . . . as many bitter . . . Deliuered . . . twise as . . . leaue fast . . . distraught*

300. *Mischance and sorrow*] It was a pity to alter the forcible words of the queen (*Contention*) to this tame line.

309. *wherefore should I curse*] Peele gives us a specimen cursing speech, "where I may curse my fill," in the *Battle of Alcazar*, but there is only a general parallel. He deals more in astrology (Act v.). But see Act i., quoted below, l. 323. Spenser's *Daphnaida* affords a parallel, but devoid of gall. See *Selimus* (Grosart, xiv. 261) and *Locrine*, III. vi.

310. *mandrake's groan*] See *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. iii. 47 (Arden edition, Dowden's note); and see *Othello*, III. iii. 331 (Arden edition, note); and commentators' notes (Johnson, Reed, Steevens) in Steevens' *Shakespeare*. See Nares.

313. *fixed teeth*] clenched teeth.

315. *lean-faced Envy*] Envy is often depicted as one of the seven deadly sins, as in Marlowe's *Faustus*, and in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, I. iv. And in Whitney's *Emblems* (1586) "lean" is, as elsewhere, one of her descriptive terms. But the cave points to Golding's *Ovid*, ii. 950-980:—

"She goes me straight to *Envies* house, a foule and irksome cave
Replete with blacke and lothly filth . . .
There saw she *Envie* . . .
Hir bodie leane as any Rake."

See also *Mucedonus;* Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 405; Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 41; and Prologue to Jonson's *Poetaster*. See note at "pale-faced," above, III. i. 335.

316. *tongue should stumble*] Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 239.

318. *distract*] mad, distraught, distracted. Compare *Spanish Tragedy*, III. xii. 89: "*Distract*, and in a manner lunatick." Often later in Shakespeare.

Ay, every joint should seem to curse and ban:
And even now my burdened heart would break
Should I not curse them. Poison be their drink!
Gall, worse than gall, the daintiest that they taste!
Their sweetest shade a grove of cypress trees!
Their chiefest prospect murdering basilisks!
Their softest touch as smart as lizards' stings!
Their music frightful as the serpent's hiss,
And boding screech-owls make the concert full!
All the foul terrors in dark-seated hell—

Queen. Enough, sweet Suffolk; thou tormentest thyself;
And these dread curses, like the sun 'gainst glass,
Or like an overcharged gun, recoil
And turn the force of them upon thyself.

Suf. You bade me ban, and will you bid me leave?
Now, by the ground that I am banished from,
Well could I curse away a winter's night,
Though standing naked on a mountain top,
Where biting cold would never let grass grow,
And think it but a minute spent in sport.

Queen. O! let me entreat thee, cease. Give me thy hand,
That I may dew it with my mournful tears;

And . . . now me-thinks . . . thing they taste . . . Their softest . . . like the serpents . . . consort . . . hell. 329. *Queen. Enough . . . thyself*] 164. *Queen. Inough . . . torments thy selfe.* 330-332. *And these . . . upon thyself*] omitted Q. 333-338. *Suf. You bade . . . leave? . . . the ground . . . though standing . . . sport*] 165-170. *Suf. You bad . . . sease? . . . this ground . . . And standing . . . sport.* 339. *Queen. O! . . . cease*] 171. *Queen. No more.* 339(½)-342. *Give me . . . monuments*] omitted Q.

323. *grove of cypress trees*] Compare Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, Act I. Sc. ii.:—

> "roll on, my chariot wheels,
> Restless till I be safely set in shade
> Of some unhaunted place, some blasted grove
> Of deadly yew or dismal *cypress tree*,
> Far from the light or comfort of the sun,
> There to curse heaven"

(Dyce, 425, a, b). Peele would have had the night-raven and owl here inevitably.

324. *basilisks*] See III. ii. 52.

325. *lizards' stings*] Occurs again in *3 Henry VI.* II. ii. 138. Lizards have not stings.

326. *serpent's hiss*] Compare Peele again:—

> "Adders and *serpents hiss* at my disgrace,
> And wound the earth with anguish of their stings!"

(*Alcazar*, II. iii., Dyce, 428, a). The noun "hiss" is not elsewhere in Shakespeare. The structure of these lines recalls Spenser (*Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, *e.g.*). Compare also Spenser's *Faerie Queene* earlier, I. ii. 9: "For her he hated as the *hissing snake*."

327. *screech-owls*] See I. iv. 18, 19, above, and note. And *3 Henry VI.* v. vi. 45.

330. *these dread curses*] Margaret's curse at the beginning of *Richard III.* becomes proverbial and prophetic in that play.

331. *gun, recoil*] An earlier instance is in *New Eng. Dict.*: "See howe yonder *gonne reculeth* or ever she lowse" (Palgrave, 1530); the next being over a century later.

333. *leave*] cease, leave off.

340. *dew it with . . . tears*] Com-

Nor let the rain of heaven wet this place,
To wash away my woeful monuments.
O! could this kiss be printed in thy hand,
That thou might'st think upon these by the seal,
Through whom a thousand sighs are breathed for thee.
So, get thee gone, that I may know my grief;
'Tis but surmised whiles thou art standing by,
As one that surfeits thinking on a want.
I will repeal thee, or, be well assured,
Adventure to be banished myself;
And banished I am, if but from thee.
Go; speak not to me; even now be gone.
O! go not yet. Even thus two friends condemned
Embrace and kiss and take ten thousand leaves.
Loather a hundred times to part than die.
Yet now farewell; and farewell life with thee.

Suf. Thus is poor Suffolk ten times banished,
Once by the king, and three times thrice by thee.

343-347. *O could this . . . standing by*] 176-179. *Oh let this . . . when thou seest it, thou maist thinke on me. Away, I say, that . . . feele my griefe For it is nothing whilst thou standest here.* 348. *As one . . . want*] omitted Q. 349, 350. *I will . . . Adventure . . . myself*] 174, 175. *And long thou shalt not staie, but ile haue thee repelde, Or venture . . . myself.* 351-356. *And banished . . . life with thee*] omitted Q. 357, 358. *Suf. Thus . . . and three . . . thee*] 180, 181. *Suf. Thus . . . but three . . . thee.*

pare "bedew King Henry's hearse," *1 Henry VI.* I. i. 104. The expression here was affected by Kyd:—

"There laid him downe, and *dewd him with my teares*,
And sighed and sorrowed"

(*Spanish Tragedy*, I. iv. 36). And *Cornelia*, III. i. 12: "*dewes hym with her teares*"; and again, v. i. 420: "*dewe your selves with* springtides of your *teares*." Not in Q. And in Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. IV. ii.:—

"this earth, *dew'd with thy brinish tears*,
Affordes no herbs whose taste may poison thee."

Marlowe is probably earliest, but there is little or no parallelism between those two famous plays.

343, 344. *kiss . . . seal*] A frequent expression in Shakespeare; see "*seals* of love," *Measure for Measure*, IV. i. 6, and note, Arden edition, p. 92. See *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 144; *Taming of the Shrew*, III. ii. 125; *Romeo and Juliet*, v. iii. 114, etc.

350. *Adventure to be*] Compare *Richard III.* I. iii. 116: "I dare *adventure to be* sent to the Tower." And Peele's *Jack Straw*: "I have *adventured* To show your majesty my mind herein" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 392).

354. *ten thousand*] See above, l. 218. Compare *Tamburlaine*, Part I. I. i.: "Theridamas, farewell *ten thousand* times."

357. *ten times*] See below, IV. vii. 26. Peele often has this "*ten times* treble thanks" (*David and Bethsabe* (479, b)): "*ten-times*-treble happy men" (*Farewell to the Generals* (550, b)).

358. *three times thrice*] Occurs several times, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 486, 491; *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 161. It is here, however, a poetical expression first, arithmetical afterwards. No doubt founded on the lucky number nine, and taken from the classics, especially Golding's *Ovid*; followed so often by Peele, Marlowe and Shakespeare: "people which by dyving *thryce three tymes* in Triton lake Become all fethred" (bk. xv. ll. 393, 394); and "the space of thryce three nyghts they counted it a sin" (x. 497); "thryce

'Tis not the land I care for, wert thou thence;
A wilderness is populous enough,
So Suffolk had thy heavenly company:
For where thou art, there is the world itself,
With every several pleasure in the world,
And where thou art not, desolation.
I can no more: live thou to joy thy life;
Myself no joy in nought but that thou livest.

Enter VAUX.

Queen. Whither goes Vaux so fast? what news, I prithee?
Vaux. To signify unto his majesty
That Cardinal Beaufort is at point of death;
For suddenly a grievous sickness took him,
That makes him gasp and stare and catch the air,
Blaspheming God, and cursing men on earth.
Sometime he talks as if Duke Humphrey's ghost
Were by his side; sometime he calls the king,
And whispers to his pillow, as to him,
The secrets of his overcharged soul:
And I am sent to tell his majesty
That even now he cries aloud for him.
Queen. Go, tell this heavy message to the king. [*Exit Vaux.*

359-366. *'Tis not the . . . thou livest*] omitted Q. 367. *Queen. Whither . . . prithee?*] 182. *Enter Vawse. Queene. How now, whither goes Vawse so fast?* 368, 369. *Vaux. To signify . . . death*] 183, 184. *Vawse. To signifie . . . death.* 370-372. *For suddenly . . . on earth*] omitted Q. 373-376. *Sometime he . . . soul*] 185-188. *Sometimes he raues and cries as he were madde, Sometimes he cals upon Duke Humphries Ghost, And whispers to his pillow as to him, And sometime he calles to speake vnto the King.* 377, 378. *And . . . cries . . . him*] 189, 190. *And I am going to certifie vnto his grace . . . cald aloude for him.* 379. *Queen. Go . . . king*] 191. *Queen. Go then good Vawse and certifie the King. Exet Vawse.*

nyne tymes with witching mouth" (xiv. 65). Golding has also "twyce five dayes and twyce five nyghts togither" (xi. 107); "Twice six wee were the sonnes of Nele . . . Twice six of us" (xii. 613, 614); "Full twyce five yeares" (xii. 643). Peele affords "Well near twice-twenty squires" (*Polyhymnia* (569, b)). But for arithmetical poetry Shakespeare bears the prize. Parallel with these "twice twenty" and "twice ten" thousands, noted above. Spenser must also be recalled:—

"Nine hundred Pater nosters every day,
And thrise nine hundred Aves she was wont to say . . .
Thrise every week in ashes shee did sitt . . .
And *thrise three times* did fast from any bitt"

(I. iii. 13, 14); and *Shepheard's Calendar* (Sept.): "*Thryse three* Moones bene fully spent." And *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 53: "Cynthia . . . *thryse three tymes* had fild her crooked hornes."

365. *I can no more*] See note, l. 120 above.

371. *gasp and stare*] Compare Golding's *Ovid*, vii. 1113-1115:—

"as long as that she coud
See ought, she stared in my face, and *gasping* still on me,
Even in my mouth she breathed forth hir wretched ghost"

(Procris). For the source of this account of the cardinal's death-bed, see next scene.

Ay me! what is this world! what news are these!
But wherefore grieve I at an hour's poor loss,
Omitting Suffolk's exile, my soul's treasure?
Why only, Suffolk, mourn I not for thee,
And with the southern clouds contend in tears,
Theirs for the earth's increase, mine for my sorrows?
Now get thee hence: the king, thou know'st, is coming;
If thou be found by me thou art but dead.
Suf. If I depart from thee I cannot live;
And in thy sight to die, what were it else
But like a pleasant slumber in thy lap?
Here could I breathe my soul into the air,
As mild and gentle as the cradle babe
Dying with mother's dug between its lips;
Where, from thy sight, I should be raging mad,
And cry out for thee to close up mine eyes,
To have thee with thy lips to stop my mouth:
So should'st thou either turn my flying soul,

380-387. *Ay me! . . . but dead*] 192-196. *Oh what is worldly pompe, all men must die, And woe am I for Bewfords heauie ende But why mourne I for him, whilst thou art here? Sweete Suffolke hie thee hence to France, For if the King do come, thou sure must die.* 388, 389. *If I depart . . . to die*] 197. *And if I go I cannot liue: but here to die.* 389-391. *What were it . . . could I . . . air*] 198-200. *What were it . . . could I, could I . . . aire.* 392. *As mild . . . cradle babe*] 201. *As milde . . . new borne babe.* 393. *Dying . . . its*] 202. *That dies . . . his.* 394, 395. *Where . . . And cry out . . . close up*] 203, 204. *Where . . . And call . . . close.* 396, 397. *To have thee . . . flying soul*] 205. *Or with thy lips to stop my dying soule.*

380. *what is this world!*] what a world is this!

384. *with the southern clouds contend in tears*] A good example of the extravagant overstretching of a figure of speech, common in Shakespeare's early plays, from the effect of preceding and contemporary writers who held the stage and public taste. Nevertheless this parting scene is full of beauty. Compare Golding's *Ovid:* "Southerne winde . . . with watry wings," and "The clowdy sowth" (pp. 27 and 234, Moring); and Spenser's "watry Southwinde" (*Faerie Queene*, III. iv. 13).

385. *earth's increase*] See *Tempest*, IV. i. 110; and "land's increase," *Richard III.* v. v. 38. Both frequent in the Bible (increase of the earth . . . of the land).

387. *thou art but dead*] Compare Genesis xx. 3: "Behold thou art but a dead man for the woman which thou hast taken, for she is a man's wife." And *Faerie Queene*, I. x. 41:—

"All is but lost, that living we bestow,
If not well ended at our dying day."

391. *Here could I breathe my soul*] See quotation at "gasp," l. 371.

392. *cradle babe*] "Cradle" used adjectively. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, ix. 79, 80:—

"It is my *cradle* game
To vanquish Snakes, O Acheloy."

394. *raging mad*] In *Venus and Adonis*, 1151. See "raging wood," also Part I. IV. vii. 35. I was in hopes "raging mad" had escaped the hyphen everywhere, but I see Schmidt has nailed it. "Raging wood" never had a chance. It is time to lay an embargo on these hyphens. Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 398): "If clemency may win their *raging* minds."

395. *close up mine eyes*] See below, III. iii. 32.

Or I should breathe it so into thy body,
And then it lived in sweet Elysium.
To die by thee were but to die in jest;
From thee to die were torture more than death.
O! let me stay, befall what may befall.

Queen. Away! though parting be a fretful corrosive,
It is applied to a deathful wound.
To France, sweet Suffolk: let me hear from thee;
For wheresoe'er thou art in this world's globe,
I 'll have an Iris that shall find thee out.

Suf. I go.

Queen. And take my heart with thee.

Suf. A jewel, locked into the woefull'st cask
That ever did contain a thing of worth.
Even as a splitted bark so sunder we:
This way fall I to death.

Queen. This way for me.

[*Exeunt severally.*

398-402. *Or I should . . . Elysium. To die by thee . . . torture . . . befall*] 206-210. *That I might . . . Elyziam, By thee to die, . . . torment . . . befall.* 403, 404. *Queen. Away! . . . wound*] omitted Q. 211-213. *Queen. Oh mightest thou staie with safetie of thy life, Then shouldest thou staie, but heavens deny it, And therefore go, but hope ere long to be repelde.* 405-407. *To France . . . globe . . . Iris . . . out*] 171-173. *Sweete Suffolke hie thee hence to France, Or liue where thou wilt within this worldes globe . . . Irish . . . out.* 408. *Suf. I go . . . thee*] 214, 215. *Suff. I go . . . thee. She kisseth him.* 409-412. *A jewel . . . did contain . . . Even . . . for me.*] 216-221. *A jewell . . . yet containde . . . Thus . . . me. Exet Suffolke* (at 220). *Exet Queene* (at 221, two half-lines).

402. *befall what may befall*] Again in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 880, and in *Titus Andronicus*, v. i. 57.

403. *fretful*] This is given as earliest in *New Eng. Dict.* It occurs in Kyd's *Cornelia* (twice). And in *Arden of Feversham.*

403. *corrosive*] Variously spelt corsey, corsie, corsive, corrosive. Not unfrequent a little earlier than Shakespeare's time. See note at *1 Henry VI.* III. iii. 3; the only other example in his plays. Golding uses the word similarly twice at least: "It was a *corsie* to hir heart hir hateful teares to keepe" (ii. 997 and 1010); and:—

"did shrowde in secret hart
An inward *corsie* comfortlesse"

(v. 531, 532). And in Hall's *Chronicle* (XXXVIII Yere) of this reign: "Which was a great displeasure to ye Kyng, & a more *corasey* ("corrasey" in Grafton) to the quene" (1548). These are earlier, and better examples than *New Eng. Dict.*

404. *deathful*] See *Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 22: "amidst these darke and *deathfull* shades" (Hieronimo's famous speech, "What outcries pluck me").

407. *Iris*] Juno's messenger and the goddess of the rainbow. Edward II. sends his messenger "As fast as *Iris*" for his sweetheart Gaveston in Marlowe's play (192, b). See *All's Well that End's Well*, I. iii. 158, and *Lucrece*, 1586.

409. *cask*] casket. A mintage of Shakespeare's own.

411. *splitted*] See note at "splitting rock," III. ii. 97.

SCENE III.—*A bedchamber.*

Enter the KING, SALISBURY, WARWICK, *to the Cardinal in bed.*

King. How fares my lord? speak, Beaufort, to thy sovereign.
Car. If thou be'st death, I 'll give thee England's treasure,
Enough to purchase such another island,
So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.
King. Ah, what a sign it is of evil life
Where death's approach is seen so terrible!
War. Beaufort, it is thy sovereign speaks to thee.
Car. Bring me unto my trial when you will.
Died he not in his bed? where should he die?
Can I make men live whe'r they will or no?
O, torture me no more! I will confess.
Alive again? then show me where he is:
I 'll give a thousand pound to look upon him.
He hath no eyes, the dust hath blinded them.
Comb down his hair; look! look! it stands upright,

Enter the King . . .] *Enter King and Salsbury, and then the Curtains be drawne, and the Cardinall is discouered in his bed, rauing and staring as if he were madde.* 1. *King. How fares . . . sovereign*] omitted Q. 2-4. *If thou . . . no pain*] 1-2. *Oh death, if thou will let me liue but one whole yeare, Ile giue thee as much gold as will purchase such another Iland.* 5, 6. *King. Ah what . . . terrible!*] 3, 4. *King. Oh, see my Lord of Salsbury, how he is troubled, Lord Cardinall, remember Christ must saue thy soule.* 7. *War. Beaufort . . . thee*] omitted Q. 8. *Car. Bring . . . will*] omitted Q. 9, 10. *Died . . . bed? where . . . die? Can . . . no?*] 5-7. *Car. Why died . . . bed? What would you haue me do then? Can . . . no?* 11-13. *O, torture . . . upon him*] omitted Q. 14-17. *He hath no eyes . . . some drink*] 9-11. *Oh see where Duke Humphreys ghoast doth stand, And stares me in the face. Looke, looke, coame downe his haire, So now hees gone againe; Oh, oh, oh.*

2. *If thou be'st death*] Grafton (and Hall) give the following account (The XXVJ Yere): "Doctor John Baker his priuie counsaylor and his Chapelyne, wrote, that he liyng on his death bed, sayd these wordes. Why should I die, hauyng so much ryches; if the whole realme would saue my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by riches to bie it. Fye, will not death be hyred, nor will money doe nothyng? When my Nephewe of Bedforde died I thought myselfe halfe up the wheele, but when I sawe mine other nephew of Gloucester disceased, then I thought myselfe able to be equall with kings, & so thought to encrease my treasure, in hope to haue worne a triple Crowne. But I see nowe the worlde fayleth me, and so I am deceyued: praiyng you all to pray for me" (Grafton, 631). "The fond and folishe talke of the bishop of Winchester." The chronicler gives here also a terrible character of this ungodly and covetous prelate. The expression "triple crowne" in this passage (Hall, 1548) has occurred already in the play (I. iii. 62). See note there.

10. *will or no?*] See last scene, l. 265. Malone parallels these lines with *King John*, IV. ii. 91, 92.

13. *I'll give a thousand pound*] I 'll give anything. See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. iii. 131; and *1 Henry IV.* II. iv. 162. And Peele, *Sir Clyomon* (503, b): "Nay, I 'll not come in his sight, if you would *give me a thousand pounds*."

Like lime-twigs set to catch my winged soul.
Give me some drink; and bid the apothecary
Bring the strong poison that I bought of him.
King. O thou eternal Mover of the heavens!
Look with a gentle eye upon this wretch;
O! beat away the busy meddling fiend
That lays strong siege unto this wretch's soul,
And from his bosom purge this black despair.
War. See how the pangs of death do make him grin!
Sal. Disturb him not; let him pass peaceably.
King. Peace to his soul! if God's good pleasure be.
Lord cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's bliss,
Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.
He dies, and makes no sign. O God, forgive him!
War. So bad a death argues a monstrous life.

17(½), 18. *and bid . . . of him*] 8. *Sirra, go fetch me the strong poison which the Pothicary sent me.* 19-23. *King. O thou . . . despair*] omitted Q. 24. *War. See . . . do make him grin!*] 12. *Sal. See . . . doth gripe his heart.* 25. *Sal. Disturb . . . peaceably*] omitted Q. 26-29. *King. Peace . . . forgive him*] 13-16. *King. Lord Cardinall, if thou diest assured of heauenly blisse, Hold up thy hand and make some signe to vs.* The Cardinal dies. *Oh see he dies, and makes no signe at all, O God forgiue his soule.* 30. *War. So . . .*

16. *lime-twigs*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare, who always uses the verb "to lime," "lime a bush," etc. The phrase "set lime-twigs" has occurred already in the *Contention* (I. iii. 87), where it is replaced by "limed a bush." See also II. iv. 54. See Golding's *Ovid*, xv. 528: "Away with guylefull feates: for fowles no *lymetwiggs* see ye set."

19. *O thou eternal Mover of the heavens*] Compare *Selimus*, l. 1440 (Temple edition):—

"But oh, thou Supreme Architect of all,
First mover of those tenfold crystal orbs."

See a similar "Primus Motor" address in *The Jew of Malta*, Act i. (Dyce, 150, a). And Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Seventh Day), 1591: "God (the first Mover) in his holy waies" (p. 149, ed. 1621). And *Tamburlaine*, Part I. IV. ii. (Dyce, 26, b).

22. *lays strong siege*] Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. xi. 5: "That wicked band of villeins . . . *lay strong siege* about it (castle) far and wyde." See the allegorical sense in a passage quoted at "respite," *1 Henry VI.* IV. i. 170 (from *Faerie Queene*).

24. *pangs of death*] So in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 520 (1543): "strugglyng with the *panges of deathe*."

24. *make him grin!*] "gripe his heart" of the *Contention*. Compare *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 171: "To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul." Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (475, a):—

"traitors to his breast
Winding about his heart with mortal gripes."

Milton remembered this: "Death *Grinned* horrible a ghastly smile" (*Paradise Lost*, ii. 845). See *King John*, III. iv. 34.

25. *pass*] die. See *King Lear*, IV. vi. 47, and v. iii. 313. Craig quotes from *Soliman and Perseda* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 371): "Trouble me not, but let me *pass* in peace" (Arden edition of *King Lear*, p. 193). The expression is not in the *Contention*, and the frequent parallelism of words and expressions in this play and *King Lear* has already been noticed. "Pass" in this sense is an early use (Chaucer, *Squyere's Tale*) revived. Frequent in early Bibles.

28. *signal*] Compare Part I. II. iv. 121, 123: "In *signal* of my love to thee . . . Will I upon thy party wear this rose." Token.

30. *argues . . . life*] Compare Part

King. Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all.
Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close;
And let us all to meditation. [*Exeunt.*

life] 17, 18. *Salb. So bad an ende did never none behold, But as his death, so was his life in all.* 31-33. *King. Forbear . . . meditation*] 19-21. *King. Forbeare to iudge, good Salsbury forbeare, For God will iudge vs all Go take him hence, and see his funerals be performde. Exet omnes.*

I. v. iv. 15 (death of Joan). Peele has a similar use:—

"this princely mind in thee
Argues the height and honour of thy birth!"

(*Battle of Alcazar*, III. iv. (434, a)); and earlier (426, b), II. ii.:—

"These welcomes, worthy governor of Lisbon,
Argue an honourable mind in thee."

31. *Forbear to judge*] Compare "forbear to murder me," below, IV. vii. 76; and "forbear to fawn," *3 Henry VI.* IV. i. 75. Also in *Richard III.* IV. iv. 118: "forbear to sleep." Abstain from judging; but the construction with the infinitive is not found in Shakespeare's better work. An archaism. Peele has it in *David and Bethsabe* (472, b): "Why then do we *forbear* to give assault," etc. etc. The last line in Q is paralleled by the last line in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* (440, b): "So to perform the prince's funerals."

32. *Close up his eyes*] See again *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 825; and above, III. ii. 395. In these passages the reference is to the actual closing of the eyelids after death; but "to close one's eyes" meant to give death to. Without "up," see *All's Well that Ends Well*, V. iii. 118. In *King John* (V. vii. 51) it is "set mine eye." Compare Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part I. V. i.:—

"my heart with comfort dies,
Since thy desired hand shall *close mine eyes.*"

And *Edward II.* v.: "Come Death and with thy fingers *close my eyes*" (213, b). See too *Tancred and Gismunda* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 91): "I kiss thy paled cheeks and *close thine eyes*"; and the *Spanish Tragedy* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 59). Usually, and used still, as a mark of extreme affection, as in Spenser, *Daphnaida*, l. 511: "And when life parts, vouchsafe to *close mine eye.*"

33. *meditation*] religious contemplation; prayer. An early use; see *New Eng. Dict.* "Of God and goodnes was his *meditation*" (*Faerie Queene*, I. x. 46). And Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (Grosart, ii. 184), 1589: "Whiles their mindes are abstracted from worldly thoughts, to a high *meditation.*" And in the Bible.

ACT IV

SCENE I.—*The coast of Kent.*

Alarum. Fight at sea. Ordnance goes off. Enter a Captain, a Master, a Master's-Mate, WALTER WHITMORE, *and others; with them,* SUFFOLK *and others, prisoners.*

Cap. The gaudy, blabbing, and remorseful day
Is crept into the bosom of the sea,
And now loud-howling wolves arouse the jades

Alarum . . .] *Alarmes within, and the chambers be discharged, like as it were a fight at sea. And then enter the Captaine of the ship and the Maister, and the Maisters Mate, & the Duke of Suffolke disguised, and others with him, and Water Whickmore.* Q. 1-14. *Cap. The gaudy . . . thy share*] 1-6. *Cap. Bring forward these prisoners that scorn'd to yeeld, Vnlade their goods with speed and sincke their ship Here Maister, this prisoner I giue to you This other, the Maisters Mate shall haue, And Water Whickmore, thou shalt haue this man, And let them paie their ransomes ere they passe.*

1-7. *The gaudy . . . air*] These obviously additional lines, inartistically joined to the scene by the word "therefore" (l. 8) bear impress of Shakespeare's earliest Marlovian style, or rather Peeleian, but vastly more powerful and more musical. Peele has: "The gaudy Morn out of her golden sleep Awak'd" (*Honour of the Garter* (589, b)). Marlowe has "remorseful blood" in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. i. (63, a).

1. *blabbing*] telling the secrets of night. Compare "Revealing day" in *Lucrece*, 1086. "Remorseful" means full of sorrow and pity for the guilt of night which it reveals.

2. *crept into the bosom*] Transferred here from the human sense. Compare *1 Henry IV.* I. iii. 266; and Greene's *James the Fourth* (Grosart, xiii. 221), 1591:—

"Had I the mind as many Courtiers have,
To *creepe into your bosome* for your coyne."

But it is much older: "She speaks as she would *creep into your bosom*" (Heywood's *Proverbs* (edited by Sharman, p. 40), 1546). It is Shakespeare's method often to use proverbs out of their wonted sense.

3. *jades*] Abusive language to horses. Compare the "pampered *jades* of Asia" in *2 Henry IV.* II. iv. 178, wherein at a later date Shakespeare ridicules Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* style. But it is not generally known that Marlowe took the expression, though not the application, from Golding's *Ovid* (1567):—

"What? is it I that did behold the
pampred *Jades* of Thrace
With Maungers full of flesh of
men"

(ix. 238, 239). Golding being a favourite of Shakespeare's, the sneer at Marlowe is mitigated. For the horses of the night, see again in Marlowe, *Edward the Second* (Dyce, 208, b):—

"Gallop apace, bright Phœbus,
through the sky;
And, dusky Night, in rusty iron
car . . .
shorten the time"

—a passage recalled by Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. ii. The idea is

That drag the tragic melancholy night;
Who with their drowsy, slow, and flagging wings
Clip dead men's graves, and from their misty jaws
Breathe foul contagious darkness in the air.
Therefore bring forth the soldiers of our prize,
For whilst our pinnace anchors in the Downs
Here shall they make their ransom on the sand,
Or with their blood stain this discoloured shore.
Master, this prisoner freely give I thee;
And thou that art his mate make boot of this;
The other, Walter Whitmore, is thy share.

First Gent. What is my ransom, master? let me know.

Mast. A thousand crowns, or else lay down your head.

Mate. And so much shall you give, or off goes yours.

Cap. What! think you much to pay two thousand crowns,
And bear the name and port of gentlemen?
Cut both the villains' throats! for die you shall:
The lives of those which we have lost in fight
Be counterpoised with such a petty sum!

15. *First Gent. What . . . know*] 23. *2 Priso. But what shall our ransome be?* 16. *Mast. A thousand . . . head*] 24. *Mai. A hundreth pounds a piece, either pay that or die.* 17. *Mate. And . . . yours*] omitted Q. 18-22. *Cap. What . . . sum!*] omitted Q.

from Ovid's *Amor.* I. xiii. 40: "Lente currite, noctis equi," quoted in *Doctor Faustus* by Marlowe (Dyce, 101, a). In later plays (*Cymbeline*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*) Shakespeare uses dragons, not horses, as the coursers of the Night. See "flagging wings," note.

5. *flagging*] hanging, drooping. Jonson uses it so in *Chloridia:* "Their hair *flagging* as if they were wet" (Seventh entry). The word is common provincially, but not again in Shakespeare. Spenser has "flaggy wings" of the Dragon in *Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 10.

6. *Clip*] "cleape" in Folio. Embrace, fondle. Compare Golding's *Ovid:* "Venus . . . *cleeping* Jove did thus with him persuade" (xiv. 666, 667). The image is a beautiful one.

6. *dead men's*] A favourite expression, with various substantives, occurring about twenty times in a dozen plays.

6. *misty*] Only in Shakespeare's earliest work; he seems to have dropped it. It is in *Lucrece*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. Peele uses it earlier in *Edward I.* (390, b):—

"This climate o'er-lowering with black congealed clouds
That take their swelling from the marish soil,
Fraught with infectious fogs and *misty* damps."

A little farther on (393, b) Peele has: "Nor influence of contagious air should touch."

11. *discoloured*] Used again of stained with blood several times (*Henry V.*, *King John* and *Romeo and Juliet*).

13. *make boot*] Shakespeare has this phrase again in *1 Henry IV.* II. i. 91 (with a pun); in *Henry V.* I. ii. 194; and in *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. i. 9. I have no earlier example.

19. *bear the name and port*] Peele has this phrase in *Sir Clyomon:* "*Bearing the name and port* of knight, enchantments for to use" (Dyce, 501, b). Elsewhere he has: "Her *port* and grace" (*Arraignment of Paris*, 352, b). "Port" was generally used so: "eche of them kept a great estate and *port*" (Grafton, i. 339). Peele could not have written this opening, but his writings are remembered. The sinking of the captured ship is omitted from the *Contention*, as needless.

First Gent. I 'll give it, sir; and therefore spare my life.
Second Gent. And so will I, and write home for it straight.
Whit. I lost mine eye in laying the prize aboard,
And therefore to revenge it shalt thou die; [*To Suffolk.*
And so should these if I might have my will.
Cap. Be not so rash: take ransom; let him live.
Suf. Look on my George; I am a gentleman.
Rate me at what thou wilt, thou shalt be paid.
Whit. And so am I; my name is Walter Whitmore.
How now! why start'st thou? what, doth death affright?
Suf. Thy name affrights me, in whose sound is death.
A cunning man did calculate my birth,
And told me that by water I should die:

23. *First Gent. I 'll . . . life*] 25. 2. *Priso. Then saue our liues, it shall be paid.* 24. *Second Gent. And so . . . straight*] omitted Q. 25-27. *Whit. I lost . . . my will*] 20-22. *Water. I lost mine eye in boording of the ship, And therefore ere I merchantlike sell blood for gold, Then cast me headlong downe into the sea.* 28. *Cap. Be not . . . live*] omitted Q. 29, 30. *Suf. Look on . . . be paid*] 18, 19. *Suf. I am a Gentleman looke on my Ring, Ransome me at what thou wilt, it shalbe paid.* 31. *Whit. my name is Walter Whitmore*] see line 5 Q. 32. *How now . . . affright?*] 7-9. *Suffolke. Water! He starteth. Water. How now, what doest feare me? Thou shalt haue better cause anon.* 33. *Suf. Thy . . . me*] 10. *It is thy . . . me.* 33. *in . . . death*] 10. *not thy selfe.* 34, 35. *A . . . my birth And told . . . die*] 11, 12. *I do remember well, a cunning Wyssard told . . . die.*

25. *laying the prize aboard*] Coming to close quarters, or tackling with her. Craig refers to Smith's *Accidence* (Arber's *Captain Smith*, p. 797) for the expression. Ben Jonson uses it transferredly several times: "Now were a fine time for thee, Winwife, to lay aboard thy widow" (*Bartholomew Fair*, III. i.); and again in *New Inn*, II. ii. To board.

29. *George*] a jewelled figure of St. George, one of the insignia of the Order. See again *Richard III.* IV. iv. 366-369; and

"Edward . . . the Third . . . began,
. . .
The Order of *Saint George* . . .
The Order of the Garter so y-clept"

(Peele, *Honour of the Garter* (Dyce, 586, a)). Amongst Queen Elizabeth's New Years Gifts in Nichols' *Progresses* (1575-1576) is a "coller of the Order of St. George with a *George* hanging at it."

34. *cunning man*] a wise man or wizard. Grafton has "a Saxon, feyning himselfe a Briteyne, and a *cunning man* in Physick" (i. 82). Here he is a "figure-caster or cozening witch" as Scot calls this breed of astrologers. Very common in Jonson.

34. *calculate*] The earliest example in *New Eng. Dict.* of this use, as in casting or calculating a horoscope. Dr. Dee seems to have used the word first in any sense. Jonson puts it "cast nativities" (*Devil is an Ass*, IV. i.). But compare Greene's *Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 35): "Whether it be that Mercurie is Lord of their birth, or some other peeuish planet predominant in the *calculation* of their nativitie, I know not." Hawes foresaw "calculate":—

"on his boke he began to *calke*
How the sonne entred was in Gemyne"

(*Pastime of Pleasure* (p. 77, Percy reprint), 1509).

35. *by water I should die*] See above, I. iv. 68-70 and 33. Readers of Dumas will remember the terrible tale of *The Regent's Daughter* in which Pontealec is foretold by a witch that he shall die by the sea. Therefore he does not fear execution. But the executioner's name proves to be "La mer," and he is beheaded.

Yet let not this make thee be bloody-minded;
Thy name is Gualtier, being rightly sounded.
Whit. Gualtier or Walter, which it is, I care not.
Never yet did base dishonour blur our name
But with our sword we wiped away the blot:
Therefore, when merchant-like I sell revenge,
Broke be my sword, my arms torn and defaced,
And I proclaimed a coward through the world!
Suf. Stay, Whitmore; for thy prisoner is a prince,
The Duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole.
Whit. The Duke of Suffolk muffled up in rags!
Suf. Ay, but these rags are no part of the duke:
[Jove sometime went disguised, and why not I?]
Cap. But Jove was never slain, as thou shalt be.
Suf. Obscure and lowly swain, King Henry's blood,
The honourable blood of Lancaster,
Must not be shed by such a jaded groom.
Hast thou not kissed thy hand and held my stirrup?
Bare-headed plodded by my foot-cloth mule,

36, 37. *Yet . . . this . . . name . . . sounded*] 13-15. *Yet . . . that . . . (he* omitted) *name being rightly sounded, Is Gualter, not Water.* 38. *Gualtier . . . care not*] 16, 17. *Water. Gualter or Water, als one to me, I am the man must bring thee to thy death.* 39, 40. *Never . . . blot*] omitted Q. 41-43. *Therefore . . . world!*] see 21, 22 Q. above. 44, 45. *Suf. Stay, Whitmore for thy . . . Pole*] 26-29. *Water. Come sirrha, thy life shall be the ransome I will have. Suff. Staie villaine, thy . . . Poull.* 46. *Whit. muffled up*] 30. *Cap. folded up.* 47, 48. *Suf. Ay . . . not I?*] 31, 32. *Suf. I sir . . . not I?* (48. Pope's accepted necessary insertion from Q.) 49. *Cap. But*] 33. *Cap. I but.* 50-52. *Suf. Obscure . . . swain, King . . . Lancaster, Must . . . jaded groom*] 34-36. *Suf. Base Iadie groom, King . . . Lancaster, cannot . . . lowly swaine.* 53-55. *Hast thou . . . Bare-headed . . . shook my head*] 57-59. *Hast not thou . . . And barehead . . . smilde on thee?*

36. *bloody-minded*] See again Part III. II. vi. 33; but not later. This word is in *Contention;* as is also "merchant-like" (l. 41), not in Shakespeare again. Peele has "merchant-wise" in *Sir Clyomon.* "*Bloody-minded* cruell men" occurs in Kyd's *Cornelia*, IV. ii. 203 (Boas).

42. *my arms torn and defaced*] Compare *Richard II.* III. i. 24, and see Malone's notes to the passage. Compare *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 80. And compare *Jack Straw* (382):—

"We will have all the rich men displaced
And all the bravery of them *defaced.*"

48. *Jove . . . I*] Pope inserted this line from the Quarto *Contention*, to complete the sense. Marlowe has "*Jove* sometime masked in a shepherds weed" (*Tamburlaine*, Part I. I. ii. (12, a)).

51. *The honourable blood of Lancaster*] Suffolk had none of this blood in his veins, according to Blakeway. But Hall says that Suffolk assumed a good ancestry. "A natural ebullition of his vanity" (Halliwell).

52. *jaded*] basely-bred, ignoble. Compare *Henry VIII.* III. ii. 280, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. i. 34. Altered from the odd "*jady*" of *Contention.*

54. *foot-cloth*] long ornamental housings or hangings for horses used by noblemen, judges and others, especially in state processions. As an attribute of grandeur and dignity, the term was common. See below, IV. vii. 51, and *Richard III.* III. iv. 86. See note to the latter play, and also Nares for a good note. And Harington's *Met. of Ajax:*

And thought thee happy when I shook my head?
How often hast thou waited at my cup,
Fed from my trencher, kneeled down at the board,
When I have feasted with Queen Margaret?
Remember it and let it make thee crest-fall'n;
Ay, and allay this thy abortive pride.
How in our voiding lobby hast thou stood
And duly waited for my coming forth?
This hand of mine hath writ in thy behalf,
And therefore shall it charm thy riotous tongue.

Whit. Speak, captain, shall I stab the forlorn swain?

Cap. First let my words stab him, as he hath me.

Suf. Base slave, thy words are blunt, and so art thou.

Cap. Convey him hence, and on our long-boat's side
Strike off his head.

Suf. Thou dar'st not for thy own.

Cap. [Yes, Pole.

Suf. Pole!]

Cap. Pool! Sir Pool! lord!

56. *How often . . . cup*] 5. *Suffolke. Has not thou waited at my Trencher.* 57, 58. *Fed from . . . When I . . . Margaret*] 56. *When we . . . Margaret.* 59-62. *Remember . . . forth?*] omitted Q. 63, 64. *This . . . tongue*] 60, 61. *This hand hath writ in thy defence, Then shall I charme thee, hold thy lavish tongue.* 65-67. *Whit. Speak . . . so art thou*] omitted Q. 68-70. *Cap. Convey . . . Suf. Pole!*] 39-43. *Cap. Go Water take him hence* (half-line) *And on . . . Chop off . . . Suffolke Poull.* 70-73. *Cap. Pool! . . . yawning mouth*] *Cap. I Poull, puddle, kennell, sinke and durt, Ile stop that yawning mouth of thine.*

An Apology (reprint, p. 16), 1596: "I would they could ride on a *footcloth* and had a house and a tax of their own."

59. *crest-fall'n*] Occurs again in *Richard II.* and in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. v. 103. See note to the latter passage, Arden edition, p. 193. The term was applied to a hawk. "A meagre *crestfaln* hawk" is in Howell's *Vocabulary*, Sect. iv. (1659).

60. *abortive*] fruitless, unsuccessful. A peculiar use, instanced later in *New Eng. Dict.*, but earliest here.

61. *voiding lobby*] ante-room, waiting-room. "Voiding-knife" occurs in Brewer's *Lingua*. For the verb in this sense, see Golding's *Ovid*, vii. 336-339: "When all were *voyded*, shee With scattred heare about hir eares . . . about the burning Altars goes."

63. *of mine*] Very frequent in Shakespeare. See Schmidt for a collection, and his correct remark on a preposterous reading in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. iii. 110 (see Arden edition, note). "Of thine" occurs often also in Shakespeare. Compare Golding's *Ovid*: "Those carelesse limbes *of thyne*" (ix. 287); and "The mothers heart of hirs" (vi. 794). Peele has this form often, but I think it is a characteristic with Shakespeare.

64. *charm thy . . . tongue*] Occurs several times in Shakespeare. See Part III. v. v. 31; and *Othello*, v. ii. 183, and note, Arden edition. For "lavish tongue" here, in Q, see Part I. II. v. 47. It is from Golding's *Ovid*. "Charm thy tongue" is not in Q.

70. *Yes, Pole . . . Pole!*] Inserted from Q by Capell. For the Pool quibble, compare "suffocate," above, I. i. 121, and note. Quite Shakespearian. In Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 412) similar quibbling on a similar occasion occurs:—

"Why, Morton, are you so lusty, with a pox?
I pulled you out of Rochester Castle by the *poll!*
Morton. And in recompense I will help to set your head on a *pole.*
Wat Tyler. Pray you, let's be *poll'd* first."

Ay, kennel, puddle, sink; whose filth and dirt
Troubles the silver spring where England drinks.
Now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth
For swallowing the treasure of the realm:
Thy lips, that kissed the queen, shall sweep the ground;
And thou that smiled'st at good Duke Humphrey's death,
Against the senseless winds shalt grin in vain,
Who in contempt shall hiss at thee again:
And wedded be thou to the hags of hell,
For daring to affy a mighty lord
Unto the daughter of a worthless king,
Having neither subject, wealth, nor diadem.
By devilish policy art thou grown great,
And, like ambitious Sylla, overgorged
With gobbets of thy mother's bleeding heart.
By thee Anjou and Maine were sold to France,

74. *For . . . realm*] omitted Q. 75, 76. *Thy lips, that kiss'd . . . Humphrey's death*] 46-48. *Those lips of thine that so oft have kist . . . death.* 77. *Against . . . in vain*] 49. *Shalt liue no longer to infect the earth.* 78-106. *Who in contempt . . . base men proud*] omitted Q.

74. *For swallowing*] for fear of its swallowing. A frequent use, not always obvious. See again Sonnet 52, l. 4; and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii. 136. And Peele, *Edward I.* (410, a): "Hold up your torches for dropping." A provincialism, still current.

77. *senseless winds*] Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (465, a): "And makes their weapons wound the *senseless winds*." Insensible.

79. *hags of hell*] the Furies. Compare Peele, *Battle of Alcazar* (436, b):—

"You bastards of the Night and Erebus,
Fiends, Furies, *hags*."

And *Locrine*, III. ii.:—

"the triple Cerberus
And all the army of his hateful *hags*."

All this ranting is reminiscent of Peele, yet not Peele's. None of these charges occur here in the *Contention*, against Suffolk; but we have had them all. And see below.

80. *affy*] betroth. See *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iv. 49. *New Eng. Dict.* has an earlier example of this use from Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, 1576. Drayton uses the verb in the *Legend of Pierce Gaveston*, recalling it from here.

84. *overgorged*] Not in Shakespeare again. Golding's *Ovid* furnishes the earliest use I know:—

"Latona, feede, yea feede thy selfe, I say, upon my woe,
And *overgorge* thy stomacke"

(vi. 352, 353).

85. *gobbets*] Similarly Progne and her sister deal with Itys's limbs:—

"In *gobbits* they them rent: whereof were some in Pipkins boyled . . .
To this same banket Progne bade . . . hir husband . . .
King Terens . . .
Swallowed downe the selfe same flesh that of his bowels bred"

(Golding, *Ovid*, vi. 815). The word occurs again in the XIVth book of Golding's translation; and in the *Faerie Queene*, I. i. 20: "great lumps of flesh and *gobbets* raw." See below, v. ii. 58.

86. *Anjou and Maine*] See I. i. 214. "the people of the realme . . . began first to make exclamacion agaynst the Duke of Suffolke, affirmyng him to be the onely cause of the deliuery of *Aniow and Main*, the chiefe procurer of the death of the good Duke of Glocester, the very occasion of the losse of Normandie, the most swallower up & consumer of the kings treasure. . . . By reason of this exclamacion, the queene

The false revolting Normans thorough thee
Disdain to call us lord, and Picardy
Hath slain their governors, surprised our forts,
And sent the ragged soldiers wounded home.
The princely Warwick, and the Nevils all,
Whose dreadful swords were never drawn in vain,
As hating thee, are rising up in arms:
And now the house of York, thrust from the crown
By shameful murder of a guiltless king,
And lofty proud encroaching tyranny,
Burns with revenging fire; whose hopeful colours
Advance our half-faced sun, striving to shine,
Under the which is writ Invitis nubibus.
The commons here in Kent are up in arms;

somewhat fearyng the destruction of the Duke, but more the confusion of herselfe, caused the Parliament, before begon at the black Friers in London, to be adiourned to Leycester" (Grafton, i. 637, 638). Articles against him were here proposed and denied. "The queene, . . . fearyng that some commocion and trouble might rise, if he were let goe unpunished, caused him to be committed to the Towre . . . after that a moneth was expired, she imagening the people to be pacified with this open emprisonment, caused him both to be delyuered and also to be restored to the Kinges favour and grace. . . . But thys doing incensed the furye of the mutable commons, muche more then before. . . . The commons of the lower house . . . accused as principall (Anjou and Maine loss) the Duke of Suffolke, with Iohn Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir James Fynes, Lord Say, and others. . . . King Henrye . . . to begin a short pacification . . . sequestred the Lord Say, beyng treasurer of England, and other the Dukes adherentes . . . and . . . put in exile the Duke of Suffolke, for the terme of fyve yeres . . . meaning . . . to reuocate hym to his olde estate. But fortune would not that he should so escape, for when he was shipped in Suffolke, entending to be transported into Fraunce, he was encountered with a shippe of warre, appertayning to the Duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of London. [The] capitaine of the same barke with small fight, entered into the Dukes shippe, and perceiuing his person present, brought him to Douer Rode, & there on the one syde of a cocke bote, caused his heade to be striken off, & left his body with the heade upon the sandes of Douer, which corps was there founde by a Chaplayne of his, & conueied to Wingfelde colledge in Suffolke, and there buryed" (Grafton, 639, 640) (1450).

94. *thrust from the crown*] An expression of Peele's in *David and Bethsabe* (467, b): "I'll *thrust* the flattering tyran *from his throne*." See note at *3 Henry VI.* III. iii. 190, where "thrust from" in Q is altered to "put from."

96. *encroaching*] Not again in Shakespeare in any use, and the earliest example (? 1593) of the participial adjective in *New Eng. Dict.* But it is earlier in Greene, and similarly placed: "such a proud busie couetous and *incroching* humor" (*Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, Grosart, xi. 251). And in G. Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (Grosart, ii. 52): "an infectious bane or an *incroching* pocke."

98. *half-faced sun*] Compare Drayton's enumeration of county devices at the battle of Agincourt (stanza 68): "Suffolk, a sun half-risen from the brake; Norfolk, a triton on a dolphin's back." Malone refers to Camden: "Edward the third bare for his deuice the rayes of the sunne dispersing themselues out of a cloud, and in other places a golden trunke of a tree" (*Remaines concerning Britaine*, p. 183, ed. 1623). (Malone never gives full references.) Is it not a notable discrepancy that the captain who speaks here is Exeter or one of his party, on King Henry's side?

And to conclude, reproach and beggary
Is crept into the palace of our king,
And all by thee. Away! convey him hence.
Suf. O! that I were a god, to shoot forth thunder
Upon these paltry, servile, abject drudges.
Small things make base men proud: this villain here,
Being captain of a pinnace, threatens more
Than Bargulus the strong Illyrian pirate.
Drones suck not eagles' blood but rob bee-hives.
It is impossible that I should die
By such a lowly vassal as thyself.
Thy words move rage and not remorse in me:
I go of message from the queen to France;
I charge thee waft me safely cross the Channel.
Cap. Walter!
Whit. Come, Suffolk, I must waft thee to thy death.
Suf. Gelidus timor occupat artus: it is thee I fear.

106-112. *this villain . . . remorse in me*] 50-53. *This villain being but Captain of a Pinnais, Threatens more plagues then mightie Abradas, The great Masadonian Pyrate, Thy words addes fury and not remorse in me.* 113, 114. *I go . . . from . . . safely . . . Channel*] 37, 38. *I am sent Ambassador for . . . waffe me crosse the channell safe.* 115, 116. *Cap. Walter! . . . death*] 39. (half-line) *Cap. Ile waffe thee to thy death.* 117. *Gelidus . . . fear*] omitted Q.

101. *And to conclude*] See again *3 Henry VI.* II. v. 47. And in *Macbeth*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Taming of the Shrew* and *1 Henry IV.* Thoroughly Shakespearian. Used by Kyd also.

105. *servile*] See note at IV. vii. 14. A favourite term of Peele's (and Spenser's). Compare *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 406): "What 'tis, a *servile* slave to brave a king!" Common in Kyd.

108. *Bargulus*] From Tully's *Offices*, II. xi. Steevens quotes Dr. Farmer, who observes that "Shakespeare might have met with this pirate in two translations. Robert Whytinton, 1533, calls him *Bargulus*, a pirate upon the see of Illiry"; and N. Grimoald: "*Bargulus*, the Illyrian robber." Warburton was the first to point out his whereabouts. "Bargulus" replaces "the mightie Abradas" of the *Contention*, who was first located by Steevens. He belongs to Greene: "Abradas the great Macedonian Pirat thought euery one had a letter of mart that bare sayles in ye Ocean" (*Penelopes Web*, Grosart, v. 197). These identical words occur again in Greene's *Menaphon* (vi. 77, 78), 1587, which has not, I think, been noticed; certainly not by the early commentators. This is probably Shakespeare's source for the quotation, and no doubt this was one of the sorest feathers he plucked from Greene. For the occurrence of the passage in Greene is not enough to prove that he wrote this part of the *Contention*, which has no other resemblance to his style. The very next line, which is *not* in the *Contention*, comes much nearer Greene! I fully expected to find "Abradas" in Primaudaye, towards whom Greene acted the "strong pirate," but he is still at large. See note at "pirates," below, IV. ix. 34.

109. *Drones . . . rob bee-hives*] This bit of folklore occurs twice in *Pericles*, and is much older, but I have not noted it in Greene. It is in (T. Bowes) translation of Primaudaye, but varied: "practitioners who devoure the substance of poore men, as Drones eate up the hony of Bees" (ch. 62, *French Academie*); and in George Gascoigne (Arber, p. 20), 1577: "As the Drone the hony hive dooth rob." And in the same form as the last quotation in N. Breton, *Pasquil's Procession*, 1600.

117. *Gelidus . . . artus*] Steevens quotes from Virgil, bk. xi.: "cur ante tubam tremor occupat artus?" which

Whit. Thou shalt have cause to fear before I leave thee.
What! are ye daunted now? now will ye stoop?
First Gent. My gracious lord, entreat him, speak him fair.
Suf. Suffolk's imperial tongue is stern and rough,
Used to command, untaught to plead for favour.
Far be it we should honour such as these
With humble suit: no, rather let my head
Stoop to the block than these knees bow to any
Save to the God of heaven, and to my king;
And sooner dance upon a bloody pole
Than stand uncovered to the vulgar groom.
True nobility is exempt from fear:
More can I bear than you dare execute.
Cap. Hale him away, and let him talk no more.
Suf. Come, soldiers, show what cruelty ye can,
That this my death may never be forgot.
Great men oft die by vile bezonians.
A Roman sworder and banditto slave

118-120. *Thou shalt . . . him fair*] 62, 63. *Cap. Away with him, Water, I say, and off with his hed.* 1 *Priso. Good my Lord, intreat him mildly or your life.* 121-130. *Suffolk . . . execute*] 64-68. *First let this necke stoupe to the axes edge, Before this knee do bow to any, Saue to the God of heauen and to my king: Suffolkes imperiall toong cannot pleade To such a Iadie groome.* 131, *Cap. Hale him . . . work*] 69, 70. *Water. Come, come, why do we let him speake. I long to haue his head for raunsome of mine eye.* 132-134. *Suf. Come soldiers . . . bezonians*] omitted Q. 135-138. *Roman, savage islanders Pompey the great*] 71-73. (these words) omitted Q.

seems to be the nearest known to Suffolk's quotation. But see *Æneid*, vii. 446: "Subitus tremor occupat artus" (Schmidt). The first Folio has "Pine" before "gelidus." Malone reads "pene." Some unintelligible misprint.

119. *daunted*] Only in this Part and Part I. The verb is in *Taming of the Shrew* and *Titus Andronicus*. Often in Spenser and Peele.

121. *Suffolk's imperial tongue*] Perhaps vain-gloriousness is excusable at such a crisis. Shakespeare would not have used it later. It is very much in Greene's method, who gives "lordly" and "princely" to speakers of themselves.

127. *dance upon a . . . pole*] Compare Lyly's *Pappe with an Hatchet* (Preface): "Martin beware your gilles, for Ile make you *daunce at the poles* end" (1588-89).

127. *pole*] More punning? pole, poll, and de la Pole. There is plenty about head on a pole in Scene iii. Peele drags some of this very inaptly into *Jack Straw*. See note, line 70.

129. *True nobility . . .*] This is after the pattern of a Senecan line in Kyd's *Cornelia* (II. i. 297) (Boas): "*true noblesse* never doth the thing it should not." Compare *Richard II.* IV. i. 119, and *Titus Andronicus*, I. i. 119 and I. i. 271.

131. *Hale*] haul. Fishermen in Lough Swilly speak of "haling the nets" (pronounced "hail").

134. *bezonians*] See again in *2 Henry IV.* v. iii. 119. Base fellows, beggars. Properly *besogno*, beggar (Italian), and so used by Jonson, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher. Compare Gabriel Harvey, *Foure Letters* (Grosart, i. 208), 1592: "the other sorry Magnifico as very *Bisonian*, as he for hys life." Nashe uses the word in *Pierce Penilesse* (Grosart, ii. 86), earlier than Harvey. In Garrard's *Art of Warre* (1591) the word occurs in a different sense. "*Bisonians* and fresh water soldiers" (*Stanford Dictionary*.)

135. *A Roman sworder and banditto slave*] "*i.e.*, Nerennius a centurion, and Popilius Lænas, tribune of the soldiers" (Steevens). See Plutarch's *Lives*

Murdered sweet Tully; Brutus' bastard hand
Stabbed Julius Cæsar; savage islanders
Pompey the Great; and Suffolk dies by pirates.
[*Exeunt Whitmore and others with Suffolk.*

Cap. And as for these whose ransom we have set,
It is our pleasure one of them depart:
Therefore come you with us and let him go.
[*Exeunt all but the First Gentleman.*

Re-enter WHITMORE, *with* SUFFOLK'S *body.*

Whit. There let his head and lifeless body lie,
Until the queen his mistress bury it. [*Exit.*

138. *and . . . pirates*] 74. *And . . . Pyrates on the seas. Exet Suffolke and Water.* 139-141. *Cap. And as . . . let him go*] 75-78. *Cap. Off with his head and send it to the Queene, And ransomelesse this prisoner shall go free, To see it safe deliuered vnto her. Come lets goe. Exet Omnes.* 142-147. *There . . . held him dear*] omitted Q.

(Cicero). "Sworder" occurs again in *Antony and Cleopatra*. "Banditto," in *Contention*, is the earliest use known of this word in English. Nashe has it several times in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), spelt as in F and Q, *bandetto* or *bandeto* (Grosart's Nashe, 118, 125, 176).

135-138. *Roman sworder . . . Brutus . . . Pompey*] These uncouth thoughts like Bargulus and Sully above, are best paralleled by the similarly abrupt introductions in *1 Henry VI.* I. ii. (Goliases, Rowlands, Deborah, Mahomet, Saint Philip, etc.). We may set them down as youthful ebullitions of an overflowing imagination. But they were the vogue. Nashe is full of such embellishments.

136. *Brutus' bastard hand*] Steevens says "Brutus was the son of Servilia, a Roman lady, who had been concubine to Julius Cæsar." This does not make the words in the text true, which they are not, unless we use "bastard" as meaning merely "base."

137, 138. *savage islanders stabbed Pompey*] Steevens points out this classical error (not in *Contention*). Malone says: "Pompey being killed by Achillas and Septimius at the moment that the Egyptian fishing-boat in which they were reached the coast, and his head being thrown into the sea [in North's *Plutarch*], his mistake does not appear more extraordinary than," etc. See Kyd's *Cornelia*, III. iii. 7-13 (Boas ed.):—

"One selfe-same shyp containd us,
when I saw
The murdring Egiptians bereaue his lyfe . . .
on the strond upon the Riuer side . . .
I woave a coffyn."

141. *let him go*] The captain's last words in Q, "Come lets goe," are possibly of interest. This closing tag, to clear the stage, occurs before (in Q) four times: p. 34, "come let us go that it may be performde. *Exet omnes*"; 29, "But come let us go. . . . *Exet omnes*"; p. 25, "the greatest man in England, but the king. Come lets goe. *Exet omnes*." With a word of address, as "Madam," "Sirs," between "come" and "let us" it occurs continually, but in these examples it seems peculiar and I have not noticed it elsewhere. It should be looked for at the end of a scene, and may prove useful for identification. Probably the expression may be regarded as a player's contraction, a hybrid stage-direction, a form to be used, *cæteris paribus*, with the words needful inserted. Thus, "come, soldiers, let us go. *Exit*" (Lodge, *Wounds of Civil War*, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. vii. p. 125). See note already at end of II. ii. I find "come lets goe" twice in *True Tragedy*, at *3 Henry VI.* I. ii. (end). "Come let's go" often is formed into a whole line with a clause interjected, as "Come stand not to expostulate lets go." See note, Part III. II. iii. 135. Marlowe has "*Come let us go* and banquet in our tents" (*Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. i. (end of)), which is near.

First Gent. O barbarous and bloody spectacle!
His body will I bear unto the king:
If he revenge it not, yet will his friends;
So will the queen, that living held him dear.
[*Exit with the body.*

SCENE II.—*Blackheath.*

Enter GEORGE BEVIS *and* JOHN HOLLAND.

Geo. Come, and get thee a sword, though made of a lath: they have been up these two days.

John. They have the more need to sleep now then.

Geo. I tell thee, Jack Cade the clothier means to dress the commonwealth, and turn it, and set a new nap upon it.

John. So he had need, for 'tis threadbare. Well, I say it was never merry world in England since gentlemen came up.

Geo. O miserable age! Virtue is not regarded in handicraftsmen.

Enter George Bevis . . .] *Enter two of the Rebels with long staues.* 1, 2. *Geo. Come . . . they . . . days*] 1-3. *Geo. Come away Nick, and put a long staffe in thy pike, and prouide thy selfe, for I Can tell thee, they . . . this two daies.* 3. *John. They . . then*] 4, 5. *Nicke. Then they had more need to go to bed now, But sirrha George whats the matter?* 4-6. *I tell thee . . . and . . . upon it*] 6, 7. *Why sirrha, Iack Cade the Diar of Ashford here, He meanes to turne this land, and . . . on it.* 7-9. *So . . . came up*] 8, 9. *I marry he had need so, for tis growne threedbare, Twas never merry world with us, since these gentle men came up.* 10, 11. *Geo. O miserable . . . handicraftsmen*] omitted Q.

1. *sword . . . of lath*] See note at "latten bilbo" (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. i. 165, Arden edition, p. 18) for references.

4. *Jack Cade*] See note at "John Cade of Ashford," above, III. i. 361-375. Rolfe quotes from the Issue Roll 29 Henry VI. the certificate of 1,000 marks paid to Iden, wherein is: "John Cade, an Irishman, calling himself Iohn Morteymer."

5-7. *set a new nap . . . threadbare*] Compare Lyly's *Endymion*, v. ii.: "in your love you have worne the *nappe* of your wit quite off and made it *threadbare*" (Fairholt, p. 71, 1591). For "sirrha" here, in *Contention*, see below, line 96, note.

7-9. *it was never merry . . . since gentlemen came up*] See *Measure for Measure*, III. ii. 6, and note in Arden edition, pp. 76, 77. The saying is also found in *Twelfth Night*, and seems to have been first levelled at Cardinals. The sentiment belongs to the earlier rebellion in Richard II.'s time. See note, line 68, below. And in *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 382):—

> "But *merrily* with the world it went,
> When men ate berries of the hawthorn-tree."

9. *came up*] came into fashion. No example in Shakespeare. Jonson has it in *Every Man out of his Humour* in Brisk's famous duel: "I had on a gold cable hatband then new *come up*, which I wore about a murrey French hat." And Grafton, *Continuation of Hardyng*, 1543 (437): "so that in hys tyme thys kinde of coyne *came up*."

9. *up*] up in arms. See *1 Henry IV.* III. ii. 120; *2 Henry IV.* I. i. 189; *Richard III.* IV. iv. 530, and several times again in this play. An expression of Peele's (?) in *Jack Straw*, of the earlier rebellion: "The Commons now are *up* in Kent" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 385). See Introduction.

John. The nobility think scorn to go in leather aprons.

Geo. Nay, more; the king's council are no good workmen.

John. True; and yet it is said, labour in thy vocation: which is as much to say as, let the magistrates be labouring men; and therefore should we be magistrates.

Geo. Thou hast hit it; for there's no better sign of a brave mind than a hard hand.

John. I see them! I see them! There's Best's son, the tanner of Wingham,—

Geo. He shall have the skins of our enemies to make dog's-leather of.

John. And Dick the butcher,—

Geo. Then is sin struck down like an ox, and iniquity's throat cut like a calf.

John. And Smith the weaver,—

Geo. Argo, their thread of life is spun.

John. Come, come; let 's fall in with them.

12, 13. *John. The nobility . . . aprons*] 10, 11. *Geo. I warrant thee, Thou shalt neuer see a Lord weare a leather aperne now a-daies.* 14-21. *Geo. Nay, more . . . hard hand*] omitted Q. 22-31. *John. I see them . . . with them*] 12-19. *Nick. But sirrha, who comes more beside Iack Cade? Geo. Why theres Dicke the Butcher and Robin the Saddler, and Will that came a wooing to our Nan last Sunday, and Harry and Tom, and Gregory that should haue your Parnill, and a great sort more is come from Rochester and from Maydstone, and Canterbury and all the Townes here about, and we must all be Lords or squires assoone as Iack Cade is King. Nicke. Harke, harke, I here the Drum, they be comming.*

12. *think scorn*] See *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 60, and note, Arden edition, p. 21.

12, 13. *leather aprons*] The wear of many sorts of mechanics and workmen, waiters, barbers and others. See *2 Henry IV.* II. ii. 189, and *Julius Cæsar*, I. i. 7. Compare Thomas Brewer's (prose) *Merry Devil of Edmonton* (reprint, 1631, p. 13), 1608: "A hard handed laborer, a poore *leathern apron*-wearer."

16. *labour in thy vocation*] See *1 Henry IV.* I. ii. 117. And in Nashe, *An Almond for a Parrot*, 1589: "What would he doe . . . if he had two good legges that will thus bestirre himself in his *vocation* with one."

17. *as much to say as*] Usually "as much as to say," which occurs in *Comedy of Errors*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Twelfth Night* and several other plays, meaning "in other words."

18. *labouring men*] Compare Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (453, b): "Go get you in, you *labouring* slaves."

24, 25. *dog's-leather*] for gloves. Compare Ben Jonson, *Gipsies Metamorposed:* "And I (lost) my knife and sheath, and my fine *dog's leather* gloves." One of Meercraft's projects in *The Devil is an Ass*, is of dressing dog's skins for which the king's glover offered him nine thousand pounds. See Introduction to *Love's Labour's Lost*, Arden edition, p. xxxii.

30. *Argo*] corrupt for *ergo*. Nares gives a quotation from the play, *Sir Thomas Moore* (*circa* 1565) (ed. Shaks. Soc., Dyce). Compare "*argal*," *Hamlet*, v. i. 13. Craig refers to Middleton, *The Phœnix*, IV. iii.

30. *thread of life is spun*] Compare *1 Henry VI.* I. i. 34 (see note), and *Pericles*, I. ii. 108. Two expressions are comprised here: "O wife, I have *spun a fair thread*" (*Locrine*, II. ii.). The latter is very common and older.

Drum. Enter CADE, DICK *Butcher*, SMITH *the Weaver, and a Sawyer, with infinite numbers.*

Cade. We John Cade, so termed of our supposed father,—

Dick. [*Aside.*] Or rather, of stealing a cade of herrings.

Cade. For our enemies shall fall before us, inspired with the spirit of putting down kings and princes,—Command silence.

Dick. Silence!

Cade. My father was a Mortimer,—

Dick. [*Aside to line* 62.] He was an honest man, and a good bricklayer.

Cade. My mother a Plantagenet,—

Dick. I knew her well; she was a midwife.

Cade. My wife descended of the Lacies,—

Dick. She was, indeed, a pedlar's daughter, and sold many laces.

Smith. But now of late, not able to travel with her furred pack, she washes bucks here at home.

Cade. Therefore am I of an honourable house.

Dick. Ay, by my faith, the field is honourable, and there

Drum. Enter Cade . . .] *Enter Iacke Cade, Dicke Butcher, Robin, Will, Tom, Harry and the rest, with long staues.* 32, 33. *Cade. We . . . father*] 22. *Cade. I Iohn Cade so named for my valiancie.* 34, 35. *Dick. Or . . . herrings*] 23. *Dicke. Or rather for stealing of . . . sprats.* 36, 37. *For . . . princes*] omitted Q. 37. *Command*] 20. *Proclaime.* 39. *Dick. Silence!*] 21. *All. Silence.* 40-42, 43 and 45. *My mother . . . Lacies*] 26. *My mother came of the Brases* (*Lacies* Q 3). 44. *I knew her*] omitted Q. 46, 47. *She . . . laces*] 27. *She . . . lases* (*indeed* after *daughter*, spoken by Will). 48, 49. *Smith. But . . . home*] 28, 29. *Robin. And now being not able to occupie her furd packe, She washeth buckes up and doune the countrie.* 50. *am I*] 30. *I am.* 51. *Dick. Ay . . . honourable*] 31. *Harry. I for the . . . honourable.* 51-53. *and there was he . . . never a house . . . cage*] 31, 32. *for he was . . . no house . . . cage.*

34, 35. *cade of herrings*] Compare Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe* (v. 301): "The rebel Jack Cade was the first that deuised to put redde *herrings* in *cades*, and from hym they haue their name." Nashe is not to be taken seriously. See Arnold's *Chronicle* (*circa* 1519) (p. 263, edited 1811): "xx. *cades* rede *hering* is a last, v. c. in a *cade*, vi. score iiij. *heringis* for the c." The term (a small barrel) was used of sprats also. At the same reference is: "The drifte sprottis is the best; x. *cades* maketh a last, xij. c. in every *cade*."

36. *fall before us*] "He alludes to his name Cade from *cado* (Lat.), to fall" (Johnson). Another name-pun like Pool, Suffocate, Main and Lacie.

46, 47. *sold . . . laces*] Compare the pedlar's song in *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 322.

48. *furred*] made of fur. Nashe has "*furred* night-cap" similarly (Grosart, i. 181). Made of skin with the hair outward, as was formerly common. See Boswell's note in Malone's *Shakespeare*, xviii. 296 (Halliwell).

49. *bucks*] linen for washing. On this word see *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. iii. 2, note, Arden edition, p. 126.

51. *field*] Referring to heraldic field, field of war.

was he born, under a hedge; for his father had never a house but the cage.

Cade. Valiant I am.

Smith. A' must needs, for beggary is valiant.

Cade. I am able to endure much.

Dick. No question of that, for I have seen him whipped three market-days together.

Cade. I fear neither sword nor fire.

Smith. He need not fear the sword, for his coat is of proof.

Dick. But methinks he should stand in fear of fire, being burnt i' the hand for stealing of sheep.

Cade. Be brave then; for your captain is brave, and vows reformation. There shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny; the three-hooped pot

54, 55. *Valiant . . . is valiant*] omitted Q. 56. *I . . . much*] 34. *I . . . much.* 57, 58. *No . . . that, for . . . three . . . together*] 34, 35. *George. That's true, I know he can endure anything. For . . . two . . . togither* (printed as verse, also 28, 29 above). 59-61. *I fear . . . Smith. He . . . proof*] 36, 37. *I fear . . . Will. He . . . proof.* 62, 63. *Stand in fear of . . . burnt i' . . . sheep*] 38, 39. *feare the . . . so often burnt in . . . sheep.* 64, 65. *Be . . . then; for . . . reformation*] 40, 41. *Therefore be brave, for . . . reformation.* 65, 66. *There . . . England seven . . . penny*] 41, 42. *You shall haue seuen . . .* (omit *sold*) *penny.* 66. *the three*] *and the three.*

53. *cage*] prison, quad, jug, lock-up. "We yet talk of jail-bird" (Malone). Compare "*cage* of rushes," *As You Like It*, III. ii. 389.

55. *beggary is valiant*] Perhaps a reference to the old proverb (from Juvenal) "Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator"; translated by Peele, "A man purse-pennilesse may sing before a thief . . . which makes me so pertly pass through these thickets" (*Edward I.* (401, a)). The term "valiant beggar" (sturdy beggar) is of later date. The word "valiant" itself though so common in Shakespeare was a hardly familiar loan from the French. See Lyly's *Campaspe*, v. ii. (Fairholt, p. 141); but it is in the chronicler Hall. Is this akin to the mysterious Nashe-Kyd "bloud is a begger" in the Epistle to *Menaphon?* (Grosart's Greene, vi. 15).

60, 61. *coat . . . of proof*] tested, reliable. Peele has the expression in *David and Bethsabe:* "He puts on armour of his honour's *proof*" (Dyce, 465, a). "Targe *of proof*" is in *Soliman and Perseda*. "Armour *of proof*" is in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. iii.

63. *burnt i' the hand for stealing*] branded with the letter T for thief. Compare *Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 383):—

"Nor that same hiss that by a fire doth stand
And hisseth T or F upon the hand."

Beaumont and Fletcher's *Night-Walker*, iii. 6 (Dyce, xi. 175): "Was never thieves and robberies; Here is no sindge in her hands, warrant her"; and Henry Hutton, *Folies Anatomy*:—

"Once *burnt i' the hand* he will example give
To such base turncoats as by turncoats live."

See *Flaistrir*, Cotgrave. "Buzzed in the fist," at a later date.

66. *three-hooped pot*] Nashe, after telling the well-known yarn (from Grafton) of King Edgar's setting pins in the cups and making it a penalty to drink beyond them, says: "And, if Stories were well searcht, I beleeue hoopes in quart pots were inuented to that ende, that euery man should take his hoope and no more" (*Pierce Penilesse* (Grosart, ii. 80), 1592). This was written later than the *Contention*. Cade means that for a quart he will get over three quarts, just as for the penny loaf he will get more than three loaves. He

shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer. All the realm shall be in common, and in Cheapside shall my palfrey go to grass. And when I am king, as king I will be,—

All. God save your majesty!

Cade. I thank you, good people: there shall be no money; all shall eat and drink on my score; and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers, and worship me their lord.

Dick. The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers.

Cade. Nay, that I mean to do. Is not this a lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? that parchment, being scribbled o'er, should undo a man? Some say the bee stings; but I say, 'tis the bee's wax, for I did but seal once to a thing, and I was never mine own man since. How now! who's there?

67. *hoops; and . . . it felony*] 42, 43. *hoopes, and it shall be felony.* 67-69. *to . . . beer. All the . . . go to grass*] 43. *to . . . beer* (*All the . . . go to grass* omitted Q). 69, 70. *And when I am . . . be*] 43. *And if I be . . . be.* 71, 72. *God. . . people*] 44, 45. *God . . . people.* 72, 73. *there . . . money; all shall . . . on . . . score*] 45, 46. *you shall all . . . of . . . score.* 73, 74. *and . . . livery*] 46. *and go all in my liuerie.* 74-83. *that they may . . . who's there?*] 46-54. *And weele haue no writing, but the score & the Tally, and there shal be no lawes but such as comes from my mouth. Dicke. We shall have sore lawes then, for he was thrust into the mouth the other day. George. I and stinking law too, for his breath stinks so, that one cannot abide it* (for 47-52 here, see below, Sc. vii. 6-11; and for 77-82, see vii. 8, 9).

is quite logical in his ideas. Compare Dekker's *Guls Horn-Booke:* "How to take . . . the Englishman's healthes, his hoopes, cans, halfecans . . . qualities of the truest tospots" (Grosart, ii. 206); and *The Wonderfull Yeare:* "Most valiant robpots . . . strooke downe only with two hoopes (quantity up to second hoop)." Hunter's "hoop" is also mentioned.

68. *small beer*] See again *2 Henry IV.* II. ii. 8, 13; and *Othello*, II. i. 161. Compare Nashe again: "Wherein . . . was but one single kilderkin of *small beere*, that wold make a man, with a carrouse of a spooneful, runne through an Alphabet of faces. Nor vsd they any glasses or cups (as other men) but onely little farthing ounce boxes" (*Pierce Penilesse*, p. 25).

68. *All . . . shall be in common*] From John Wall's rebellion, 1380-1381: "A good people, matters go not wel to passe in England in these dayes, nor shall not do vntill euerything *be common*, and that there be no Villeynes nor gentlemen, but that we be all as one, and that the Lordes be no greater than we be" (Grafton, 417, 418). This "lewde company lay on Blackheth" likewise. See note at "poor at gate," x. 23. And *Jack Straw* (382):—

> "it were better to have this community,
> Than to have this difference in degrees."

76. *kill all the lawyers*] See vii. 1, note.

81. *seal*] sign or agree to a mortgage or bond of some ruinous nature. Compare Ben Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, II. iii.: "Bait 'em with the young chambermaid to *seal*"; and *Alchemist*, II. i.: "the young heir that must *Seal* at all hours in his shirt." See "burn all the records" (vii. 16).

82. *never mine own man since*] An old phrase meaning "never master of myself since." Nares gives a quotation ("Terence MS."), "He is his *owne*

Enter some, bringing forward the Clerk of Chatham.

Smith. The clerk of Chatham: he can write and read and cast accompt.

Cade. O monstrous!

Smith. We took him setting of boys' copies.

Cade. Here 's a villain!

Smith. Has a book in his pocket with red letters in 't.

Cade. Nay, then he is a conjurer.

Dick. Nay, he can make obligations, and write court-hand.

Cade. I am sorry for 't: the man is a proper man, of mine honour; unless I find him guilty, he shall not die. Come hither, sirrah, I must examine thee. What is thy name?

Clerk. Emmanuel.

Enter Will with the Clarke of Chatham. Will. Oh Captaine a pryze. Cade. Whose that Will? 84, 85. *Smith. The Clerk . . . accompt*] 55, 56. *Will. The Clarke . . . account.* 87 and 89, 90. *We took . . . Has a book . . . letters in't*] 56, 57. (continued to Dick's speech, 55) *I tooke . . . and hee has . . . letters* (*in't* omitted). 86 and 88. *O . . . villain*] omitted Q. 91-98. *Cade. Nay, then . . . Clerk. Emmanuel*] 58-60. *Cade. Sonnes, hee's a conjurer bring him hither. Now sir, what's your name? Clarke. Emmanuel sir, and it shall please you.*

man; he liveth as he list; he is under no man's controlment," which exactly defines it. Compare Golding's *Ovid*:—

"Achimenides, his *owne man* freely now,
And not forgrowen as one forlorne" (xiv. 195, 196). See too Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*, IV. iii., when Face has lost his wits or is beside himself: "I ne'er must hope to be *mine own man again*."

87. *boys' copies*] Compare *Love's Labour 's Lost*, v. ii. 42: "Fair as a text B in a copy-book." One of the standard words to practise letters on was till a recent date, Emmanuel. I incline to think that it is the reference at l. 98, in spite of the "fourteen private (undated) epistles."

92, 93. *court-hand*] "Used in the law-courts from the 16th century till George II., when it was abolished by statute" (Craig). Compare Brome, *Northern Lasse*, III. ii. (Pearson, vol. iii. p. 59): "Alas, Sir, that a fair hand should make such blots! what hand is it? Secretarie, Roman, Court, or Text? I have not seen the like: 'tis all dominical letters, red ink." Dapper, the lawyer's clerk in Jonson's *Alchemist*, says (I. i.): "By this hand of flesh, Would it might never write good *court-hand* more, If I discover."

96. *sirrah*] Generally used by a superior to an inferior. In Shakespeare's later work, a master says it to his page, as in *Merry Wives of Windsor*. There is an opposition to this tendency in the *Contention*, where in the beginning of Scene ii, "sirrha" occurs three times in half a dozen lines, amongst equals. Of course this repetition had to be corrected, so all three were omitted, and this is the first appearance of the word. Yet the beginning of that scene is Shakespeare's own work.

98. *Emmanuel*] Formerly prefixed to letters, deeds, etc., to convey the impression of piety. Staunton says: "We can refer to one MS. alone in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 19,400), which contains no less than fourteen private epistles headed Emanewell or Jesus Immanuel." It was used also on royal seals. Steevens quotes from *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*: "Under our broad seal *Emanuel*." See above, however (for a doubt), at "copies," l. 87. The evidence is insufficient.

Dick. They use to write it on the top of letters. 'Twill go hard with you.

Cade. Let me alone. Dost thou use to write thy name, or hast thou a mark to thyself, like an honest plain-dealing man?

Clerk. Sir, I thank God I have been so well brought up that I can write my name.

All. He hath confessed: away with him! he's a villain and a traitor.

Cade. Away with him! I say: hang him with his pen and ink-horn about his neck. [*Exeunt one with the Clerk.*

Enter MICHAEL.

Mich. Where's our general?

Cade. Here I am, thou particular fellow.

Mich. Fly, fly, fly! Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother are hard by, with the king's forces.

Cade. Stand, villain, stand, or I'll fell thee down. He shall be encountered with a man as good as himself: he is but a knight, is a'?

Mich. No.

Cade. To equal him, I will make myself a knight presently. [*Kneels.*] Rise up Sir John Mortimer. Now have at him!

99, 100. *They use to . . . 'Twill . . . you*] 61, 62. *It will go . . . you, I can tell you, For they use to . . . that oth top of letters.* 101-103. *Let me . . . man*] 63-65. *And what do you vse to write your name? Or do you as auncient forefathers have done, Vse the score and the Tally?* (written as verse, also 58, 59, and 61, 62). 104, 105. *Clerk. Sir, I thank . . . my name*] 66, 67. *Clarke. Nay, true sir, I praise . . . mine owne name.* 106, 107. *All. He hath . . . traitor*] omitted Q. 108, 109. *Away . . . neck*] 68, 69. *Oh hes confest, go hang him with his penny-inckhorne about his necke* (Q 3 reads *pen and inkhorne*). *Exet one with the Clarke. Enter Tom.* 110-113. *Mich. Where's . . . king's forces*] 70, 71. *Tom. Captaine, Newes, newes, sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother are comming with the king's power, and mean to kil vs all.* 114-116. *Stand . . . knight is a'?*] 72. *Let them come, hees but a knight is he?* 117. *Mich. No*] 73. *Tom. No, no, hees but a knight.* 118, 119. *To . . . a knight presently*] 74. *Why then to . . . knight.* 119, 120. [*Kneels*] *Rise up . . . at*

102, 103. *plain-dealing*] See note in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 367 (Arden edition).

108, 109. *pen and ink-horn*] In 1381 the rebels, "if they found any to haue *pen and inke* they pulled off his hoode, and all with one voice of crying, 'Hale him out, and cut off his head'" (Stow: quoted by Boswell Stone). And see below, IV. vii. 33-37. Compare Laneham's *Letter*, 1575: "a *pen and ink-horn* at his back for he would be known to be bookish" (reprint, 29).

118. *make myself a knight*] Similarly in *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 383) Wat Tyler says: "We'll be lords, my masters, everyone."

119. *John Mortimer*] Hall gives Cade's rebellion at considerable length, followed by Grafton. The dialogues are however original in matter and manner, and entirely Shakespeare's, both in this

Enter Sir HUMPHREY STAFFORD, *and his brother, with drum and soldiers.*

Staf. Rebellious hinds, the filth and scum of Kent,
Marked for the gallows, lay your weapons down;
Home to your cottages, forsake this groom:
The king is merciful, if you revolt.
Bro. But angry, wrathful, and inclined to blood, 125
If you go forward: therefore yield, or die.
Cade. As for these silken-coated slaves, I pass not:
It is to you, good people, that I speak,

him] 75-80. *Kneele downe Iohn Mortemer, Rise vp sir Iohn Mortemer. Is there any more of them that be Knights? Tom. I his brother. He knights Dicke Butcher. Cade. Then kneele doune Dicke Butcher, Rise vp sir Dicke Butcher. Now sound vp the Drumme. Enter . . . souldiers* (as above, and Ff). 121-124. *Staf. Rebellious . . . revolt*] 83-85. *Stafford. Why, country-men, what meane you thus in troupes, To follow this rebellious Traitor Cade? Why his father was but a Brick-laier.* 125, 126. *Bro. But . . . die*] omitted Q. 127, 128. *Cade. As . . . pass not: It is . . . speak*] 81, 82. *Cade. As . . . passe not a pinne, Tis . . . speake.*

play and in the original *Contention*. Of that there can be no doubt, and it affords food for reflection. The previous scene is also Shakespeare's. Grafton says here: "This Capteine [Jack Cade who named himselfe *Iohn Mortimer*] not only suborned by teachers, but also enforced by priuie Scholemaisters assembled together a great company of tall personages; assuryng them that their attempt was both honourable to God and the king and also profitable to the common wealth, promisyng them, that if either by force or pollicy they might once take the king, the Queene, and other their Counsaylors . . . they would honourably entreat the king, and so sharply handle his Counsaylors, that neither fiftenes should hereafter be demaunded, nor once any imposicions or tax should be spoken of. These perswasions, with many other fayre promises . . . so animated the Kentishe people, that they . . . came to the plain of Blackheath . . . he [Jack Cade] . . . sent to him [the King] an humble supplication with louyng wordes, but with malicious entent . . . This prowde Bill was both of the King and his Counsayle disdeinefully taken . . . it was concluded that such prowde rebelles should rather be suppressed . . . Whereupon the king assembled a great army; & marched toward them which had been on black Heath by the space of vij. dayes . . . Iack Cade . . . brake up his campe and retyred backeward to the towne of Sevenock . . . The Queene, which bare the rule . . . sent syr Humprey Stafforde knight, and Wylliam his brother with many other Gentlemen, to follow the chace of the Kentishmen . . . at the first skyrmishe both the Staffordes were slaine, and all their companie shamefully discomfited" (640, 641). See Grafton, 418-426, for John Wall, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. And see note at "inns of court," scene vii. l. 1.

121. *scum of Kent*] Marlowe has "cruel pirates of Argier . . . *the scum* of Africa" (*Tamburlaine*, Part I. III. iii. (22, a)). See *Richard III.* v. iii. 317.

122. *Marked for the gallows*] Compare *The Tempest*, I. i. 31: "He hath no drowning mark upon him: his complexion is perfect *gallows*." For this view of the rebels, see Introduction, and compare Iden's last speech in this Act.

124. *revolt*] return. The last sense in Cotgrave of "revolter": "also, to return, or make a new turn." Compare Golding's *Ovid*, x. 68: "And then *revolted* too the place in which he had her found." Turn over a new leaf.

127. *I pass not*] I care not. Compare Greene's *Alphonsus* (Grosart, xiii. 342): "Who ere it be, I do *not passe* a pinne." Commoner with prepositions "of" or "for." *New Eng. Dict.* has references to Udall's *Erasmus*, and others, earlier. The *Contention* reading here is "*passe not* a pinne." In *Tamburlaine*, Part I. I. i.

O'er whom in time to come I hope to reign ;
For I am rightful heir unto the crown.
Staf. Villain ! thy father was a plasterer ;
And thou thyself a shearman, art thou not ?
Cade. And Adam was a gardener.
Bro. And what of that ?
Cade. Marry, this : Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March,
Married the Duke of Clarence' daughter, did he not ?
Staf. Ay, sir.
Cade. By her he had two children at one birth.
Bro. That 's false.
Cade. Ay, there 's the question ; but I say, 'tis true.
The elder of them, being put to nurse,
Was by a beggar-woman stol'n away ;
And, ignorant of his birth and parentage,
Became a bricklayer when he came to age :
His son am I ; deny it if you can.
Dick. Nay, 'tis too true ; therefore he shall be king.
Smith. Sir, he made a chimney in my father's house, and the bricks are alive at this day to testify it ; therefore deny it not.

129, 130. *O'er whom . . . crown*] omitted Q. 131, 132. *Staf. Villain ! . . . not ?*] omitted (see 85 above) Q. 133, 134. *And . . . that ?*] 86. *Cade. Well, and Adam was a gardner, what then ?* (no speech credited to Brother). 135, 136. *Cade. Marry, this . . . he not ?*] 90, 91. *For looke you, Roger Mortemer the Earle of March, Maried the Duke of Clarence daughter.* 137, 138. *Staf. Ay, sir. Cade. By . . . birth*] 92, 93. *Stafford. Well that's true : But what then ? Cade. And by . . . a birth.* 139-145. *Bro. That 's false. Cade. Ay, there 's . . . deny . . . can*] 94-99. *Stafford. That's false. Cade. I, but I say, tis true. All. Why then tis true. Cade. And one of them was stolne away by a beggar woman, And that was my father, and I am his sonne, Deny it and you can.* 146-149. *Dick. Nay . . . King* omitt. *Sir . . . not*] 100-102. *Dicke. Nay looke you, I know twas true, For his father built a chimney in my fathers house, and . . . to testifie.*

132. *shearman*] one who sheared the woollen cloth in manufacturing it. "The Shermen" were one of the trades who acted in the *Chester Plays* (p. 7) ; but they are not included in Stowe's list of guilds. "Scharman, or scherman, Tonsor, attonsor, tonsarius" (*Prompt. Parvulorum*, Way).

133. *Adam*] "Why should we be thus kept in servitude and bondage ? We be all come from one father and one mother, *Adam* and Eve" (Grafton, p. 418 (1380-1381)). See note, IV. ii. 119. And *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 381) : "When *Adam* delved and Eve span," etc.

145. *deny it if you can*] A stereotyped expression. Compare Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (455, b) : "I know you, though you know not me ; are you not the man, sir, *deny it if you can*, sir, that came from a strange place." Perhaps from a song.

148. *bricks alive . . . to testify it*] An ancient bit of humour to seal up a figment with. "If you don't believe my word, the bricks," etc. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, viii. 902-905 :—

"The Phrygians in that park
Doo at this present day still shew the trees that shaped were
Of theyr twoo bodies, growing yit togither joyntly there.
These things did auncient men report of credit uerie good.
For why there was no cause why they should lye."

Staf. And will you credit this base drudge's words,
That speaks he knows not what?
All. Ay, marry, will we; therefore get ye gone.
Bro. Jack Cade, the Duke of York hath taught you this.
Cade. [*Aside.*] He lies, for I invented it myself. Go to, sirrah; tell the king from me, that for his father's sake, Henry the Fifth, in whose time boys went to span-counter for French crowns, I am content he shall reign; but I'll be protector over him.
Dick. And furthermore, we'll have the Lord Say's head for selling the dukedom of Maine.
Cade. And good reason; for thereby is England mained and fain to go with a staff, but that my puissance holds it up. Fellow kings, I tell you that that Lord Say hath gelded the commonwealth and made it an eunuch; and more than that, he can speak French; and therefore he is a traitor.
Staf. O gross and miserable ignorance!

150-152. *Staf. And . . . All. Ay, marry . . . gone*] omitted Q. 153, 154. *Bro. Jack . . . Cade. He . . . myself*] 88, 89. *Stafford. I, the Duke . . . You that. Cade. The Duke of York, nay, I learnt it myselfe.* 154-158. *Go to . . . over him*] 103-106. *Cade. But doest thou heare Stafford, tell the King, that for his fathers sake, in whose time boyes plaide at spanne-counter with Frenche Crownes, I am content that hee shall be King as long as he lives Marry alwaies provided, ile be Protector ouer him.* 159-166. *Dick. And . . . Maine. Cade. And good . . . traitor*] 108-114. *Cade. And tell him, weele haue the Lord Sayes head, and the Duke of Somersets, for deliuering up the Dukedomes of Anioy and Mayne, and selling the Townes in France, by which meanes England hath bene maimde euer since, and gone as it were with a crouch, but that my puissance held it vp And besides they can speake French and therefore they are traitors. Stafford. As how I prethie?* 167. *Staf. O . . . ignorance!*] 107. *Stafford. O monstrous simplicitie.*

151. *speaks he knows not what*] Compare Chapman (?), *Two Wise Men*, II. i. (*Minor Poems*, p. 390), 1619: "You talk you *know not what*." And Peele, *Edward I.* (Dyce, 413, a):—

"Bereav'd her sense and memory at once,
So that she spoke she *knew nor how nor what*."

See below in Q: "You did take in hand you *know not what*" (in Scene ix.)

153. *York hath taught you*] See note at Scene x. l. 1.

157. *span-counter*] A game similar to pitch and toss, as played nowadays. Very often mentioned and popular with pages and such-like. Dekker and Webster mention it in *Northward Ho* (Pearson, iii. 10), with a quibble on the counter prison: "Ile go to *spancounter* with any page in Europe for his best garters" (*The Fleise*, Act iv. by E. Sharpham). See Nares and Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*. In Kirkman's *English Rogue*, iv. 121 (1680), it is called "span-farthing."

159. *Lord Say's head*] See extract from Grafton at "Anjou and Maine," IV. i. 86.

160, 161. *Maine . . . mained*] See I. i. 211 for more quibbling on "Maine." Malone quotes from Daniel's *Civil Wars*, 1595: "Anjou and *Maine*, the *maim* that foul appears." "Main" was an accepted early form or spelling of "maim."

163. *Fellow kings*] In Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. iii.: "Loving friends and *fellow-kings*."

164. *gelded the commonwealth*] Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 149, and see note, Arden edition.

Cade. Nay, answer if you can: the Frenchmen are our enemies; go to then, I ask but this: can he that speaks with the tongue of an enemy be a good counsellor, or no?

All. No, no; and therefore we 'll have his head.

Bro. Well, seeing gentle words will not prevail,
Assail them with the army of the king.

Staf. Herald, away; and throughout every town
Proclaim them traitors that are up with Cade;
That those which fly before the battle ends
May, even in their wives' and children's sight,
Be hanged up for example at their doors.
And you that be the king's friends, follow me.

[*Exeunt the two Staffords and Forces.*

Cade. And you that love the commons, follow me.
Now show yourselves men; 'tis for liberty.
We will not leave one lord, one gentleman:
Spare none but such as go in clouted shoon,

168-171. *Cade. Nay . . . or no?*] 115-118. *Cade. Why the French men are our enemies be they not? And then can hee that speakes with the tongue of an enemy be a good subject? Answer me to that.* 172-174. *All. No . . . head. Bro. Well . . . king*] 119-124. *Stafford. Well sirrha, wilt thou yeeld thy selfe vnto the Kings mercy, and he will pardon thee and these their outrages and rebellious deeds? Cade. Nay, bid the King come to me and he will, and then ile pardon him, or otherwayes ile haue his Crowne tell him, ere it be long.* 175-180. *Staf. Herald . . . follow me*] 125-127. *Stafford. Go Herald, proclaime in all the Kings Townes, That those that will forsake the Rebell Cade, Shall haue free pardon from his Maiestie. Exet Stafford and his men.* 181-189. *Cade. And you . . . forward!*] 128. *Cade. Come sirs, Saint George for us and Kent. Exet omnes.*

169. *I ask but this*] "Answere me to that," the reading in Q, is paralleled by "Answer me to what I ask you," *Macbeth*, IV. i. 60; and see *1 Henry IV.* II. iii. 88. It may be regarded as a special idiom; but "me" is perhaps merely superfluous.

174. *Assail . . . with*] Compare *Cymbeline*, II. iii. 44. And Peele, *Edward I.*: "My dreadful soul, *assail'd with* doleful speech" (Dyce, 413, b). See note at "overborne," Part I. II. v. 10.

179. *hanged up*] So in *Spanish Tragedy*, II. v. 10: "A man *hang'd up* and all the murderers gone." And in Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. v. i. (68, b): "Take them and *hang them both up* presently."

180. *And you . . . friends, follow me*] This line is a sort of standing dish where there is trouble. Compare *3 Henry VI.* IV. i. 123: "You that love me and Warwick, *follow me*"; and *Richard III.* III. iv. 81: "The rest that love me, rise and *follow me*." And Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, IV. ii. (435, b): "And they that love my honour *follow me*." And see the following line in confirmation of the formula. And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. iii.: "If thou wilt love the wars and *follow me*."

182. *'tis for liberty*] This was the cry, or part of it, in the villeins' rebellion (1381): "Now we be gotten together, we will have wealth and *liberty*. [Cry all: Wealth and *liberty*.] *King*. . . . as I am your true-succeeding prince . . . You shall have *liberty* and pardon all" (*Jack Straw* (v. 399)).

184. *clouted shoon*] came to be a name for boors or country bumpkins. "Where is more craft than in the *clouted shoen*" (*Mirror for Magistrates*, 1563 (*New Eng. Dict.*)). And Greene's *Quippe for an Upstart Courtier*

For they are thrifty honest men, and such
As would, but that they dare not, take our parts.
Dick. They are all in order, and march toward us.
Cade. But then are we in order when we are most out of order. Come: march! forward! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*Another Part of Blackheath.*

Alarums to the fight, wherein both the STAFFORDS *are slain. Enter* CADE *and the rest.*

Cade. Where 's Dick, the butcher of Ashford?
Dick. Here, sir.
Cade. They fell before thee like sheep and oxen, and thou behaved'st thyself as if thou hadst been in thine own slaughter-house: therefore thus will I reward thee, the Lent shall be as long again as it is; and thou shalt have a license to kill for a hundred lacking one.
Dick. I desire no more.
Cade. And, to speak truth, thou deservest no less. This monument of the victory will I bear; and the bodies

Alarums to the battaile, and Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother is slaine. Then enter Iacke Cade againe and the rest. 1, 2. *Cade. Where's Dick . . . sir*] omitted Q. 3-8. *Cade. They . . . lacking one*] 1-4. *Sir Dicke Butcher, thou hast fought to day most valiantly, And knockt them down as if thou hadst bin in thy slaughter house. And thus I will reward thee. The Lent shall be as long againe as it was. Thou shalt haue licence to kil for foure score & one a week.* 9-17. *Dick. I desire . . . Cade. Fear . . . thee*] omitted Q.

(Grosart, xi. 214, 237): "I might perceine certaine clownes in *clowted shoone* gather it, & eate of it"; "An Vpstart, *quasi* start vp from *clowted shoone*." An old expression to a rustic. Noe's wife, in her wrangling, says: "Yei Noe, go *cloute thi shone*, the better wille thai last" (*Towneley Mysteries*, p. 29, *circa* 1400). Northern. And *Locrine*, II. ii.: "will you any old shoes or buskins, or will you have your *shoes clouted?* I will do them as well as any cobbler in Caithness." Schmidt has some obstinate view here.

SCENE III.

1. *the Staffords are slain*] Steevens says "Sir Humphrey Stafford who was killed at Sevenoke in Cade's rebellion, is buried at Broomsgrove in Staffordshire (Vaillant)."

5. *slaughter-house*] See above, III. i. 212 (note).

7. *license to kill*] Butchers were forbidden to kill meat during Lent (in Elizabeth's reign), excepting by special license for a certain number each week for those who could not do without animal food (Malone).

7, 8. *a hundred lacking one*] Compare Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (451, b): "Look you, sir; he gave fourscore and nineteen mourning gowns to the parish, when he died, and because he would not make them up a full *hundred*, they would not bury him; was not this good dealing?"

10, 11. *This monument of the victory*] Steevens quotes here from Holinshed: "Jack Cade, upon his victory against the Staffords, apparelled himself in Sir Humphrey's brigandine, set full of gilt nails, and so in some glory returned again toward London." Grafton says: "When . . . the covetous Cade, had thus obtained victorie, and slayne the two valyant Staffordes, he apparelled himselfe in their rich armure, and so with pompe

shall be dragged at my horse heels till I do come to London, where we will have the mayor's sword borne before us.

Dick. If we mean to thrive and do good, break open the gaols and let out the prisoners.

Cade. Fear not that, I warrant thee. Come; let 's march towards London. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.—*London. The palace.*

Enter the KING *with a supplication, and the* QUEEN *with* SUFFOLK'S *head, the Duke of* BUCKINGHAM, *and the Lord* SAY.

Queen. Oft have I heard that grief softens the mind,
And makes it fearful and degenerate;
Think therefore on revenge, and cease to weep.
But who can cease to weep and look on this?
Here may his head lie on my throbbing breast;
But where 's the body that I should embrace?

17, 18. *Come . . . London*] 5, 6. *Drumme strike vp, for now weele march to London, for to morrow I meane to sit in the Kings seate at Westminster* (speech 1-4 continued). *Exet omnes.*

Scene iv.

Enter the King reading of a Letter, and the Queene, with the Duke of Suffolkes head, and he Lord Say, with others. 1-11. *Queen. Oft . . . the sword*] omitted Q.

and glorie returned againe towarde London" (641). The brigandine has been so firmly accepted (from Holinshed) that it has found its way into the Cambridge edition as an instruction, and into Schmidt as an explanation. I propose to banish it for a much happier word, "sallet." "Brigandine" is not in the play anywhere. Fabyan's account is: "And as soon (as) Iak Cade had thus ouer comyn the Staffordes, he anone apparaylled hȳ with the Knyghtes apparayll, and dyd on hym his bryganders set with gylt nayle, and his salet and gylt sporys" (1811 edition, p. 623), 1516. Clear proof that Shakespeare referred to Fabyan, since (in Scene x.) Cade retains his sallet and addresses it as having saved his life many a time. No doubt by this, when a fugitive, the more costly articles were discarded. A helmet is more in keeping with a monument than a brigandine. And Cade found the "sallet was born to do him good," with unmistakable stress.

15. *thrive and do good*] See note at III. i. 292, on the expression in Q.

15, 16. *open the gaols and let out the prisoners*] See extract from Fabyan at VII. i. ("inns of court"). And in *Jack Straw* (by Peele) (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 396): "They have spoiled all Southwork, *let out all the prisoners*, broke up the Marshalsea and the King's Bench, and made great havoc in the borough."

17. *Fear not that*] don't be alarmed, that will be done. "Never fear that" in *Julius Cæsar*. More often simply "Fear not."

17. *I warrant thee*] I'll guarantee it. In common use in Ireland.

Scene iv.

1. *Queen. Oft have I heard*] The Queen's mourning is barely touched upon in Q. A single line (see below, 21) suffices for her. Shakespeare pays special attention always to this bold bad queen. Note later the number of decapitated heads that appear in this Act.

5. *throbbing breast*] with grief. Compare *Faerie Queene*, II. iv. 17: "With hart then *throbbing* and with watry eyes."

Buck. What answer makes your grace to the rebels' supplication?
King. I 'll send some holy bishop to entreat;
For God forbid so many simple souls
Should perish by the sword! And I myself,
Rather than bloody war shall cut them short,
Will parley with Jack Cade their general.
But stay, I 'll read it over once again.
Queen. Ah! barbarous villains, hath this lovely face
Ruled like a wandering planet over me,
And could it not enforce them to relent,
That were unworthy to behold the same?
King. Lord Say, Jack Cade hath sworn to have thy head.
Say. Ay, but I hope your highness shall have his.
King. How now, madam!
Still lamenting and mourning for Suffolk's death?
I fear me, love, if that I had been dead,
Thou wouldest not have mourned so much for me.
Queen. No, my love; I should not mourn, but die for thee.

11-14. *King. . . . And I myself . . . their . . . But the . . . it over once*] 1-5. *King. Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother is slaine, And the Rebels march amaine to London, Go back to them and tell them thus from me, Ile come and parley with their . . . yet . . . the Letter ouer againe. Reade* (before *Yet staie*). 15-18. *Queen. Ah! barbarous . . . the same?*] omitted Q. 19. *sworn*] 6. *solemnely vowde.* 20. *Say. Ay, . . . his*] 7. *Say. I . . . his.* 21-24. *How now . . . me, love, if that I . . . for me*] 8-10. *How now . . . my love, if I . . . for me* (as prose). 25. *No . . . for thee*] 11. *No . . . for thee.*

7, 8. *rebels' supplication*] For this "humble supplication," see extract at "John Mortimer," IV. ii. 119.

11. *perish by the sword*] See Job xxxiii. 18, xxxvi. 12. The King's pious speech with his "holy bishop" are all additional to Q. But in Shakespeare's Bible these texts read "pass by the sword." See, however, Matthew xxvi. 52, "*perish with the sword.*" And Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I. IV. ii.: "Not one should scape, but *perish by our swords.*"

12. *cut them short*] See note at III. i. 81 above: "*Cutting short* that fraudful man." Compare 2 Kings x. 32.

11-13. *I myself . . . will parley with*] In *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 391), by Peele, the King (Richard II.) says: "Tell them . . . Ourselves will meet with them," after Sir John Morton has advised:—

"Thus would I deal with these rebellious men:
I would find time to *parley with* some of them."

The expression occurs again in *King John* and *Love's Labour's Lost.* Also in the *Contention. New Eng. Dict.* is too late with the term (1600).

15. *this lovely face*] this episode recalls that of another Queen Margaret (of Navarre) told by Dumas with respect to her lover, La Mole, whose head she obtained from the executioner.

16. *wandering planet*] In Holland's *Plinie*, xviii. ch. 25 (p. 585), "Wandering stars or Planets" are treated of.

21. *How now, madam*] When the king reproved Margaret for boxing the Duchess Gloster's ear (I. iii.) he begins his speech in Q (wholly omitted in the finished play): "Beleeue me my love thou wert much to blame." He is stiffer now. Certainly the position is tightly strained here.

Enter a Messenger.

King. How now! what news? why com'st thou in such haste?
Mess. The rebels are in Southwark; fly, my lord!
Jack Cade proclaims himself Lord Mortimer,
Descended from the Duke of Clarence' house,
And calls your grace usurper openly,
And vows to crown himself in Westminster.
His army is a ragged multitude
Of hinds and peasants, rude and merciless:
Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother's death
Hath given them heart and courage to proceed.
All scholars, lawyers, courtiers, gentlemen,
They call false caterpillars, and intend their death.
King. O graceless men! they know not what they do.
Buck. My gracious lord, retire to Killingworth,
Until a power be raised to put them down.
Queen. Ah, were the Duke of Suffolk now alive,
These Kentish rebels would be soon appeased!

26. *King. How now . . . haste?*] omitted Q. 27-37. *Mess. The rebels . . . their death*] 12-17. *Messen. Oh flie my Lord, the Rebels are entered Southwarke, and haue almost wonne the Bridge, calling your grace an usurper, And that monstrous Rebell Cade hath sworne To Crowne himselfe King in Westminster, Therefore flie my Lord, and poste to Killingworth.* 38. *King. Oh . . . they do*] omitted Q. 39. *Buck. My . . . Killingworth*] Compare lost line, Messenger, above. 41, 42. *Queen. Ah, were . . . appeased!*] omitted Q (but see below, Sc. ix. ll. 6-8).

27. *The rebels are in Southwark*] "The king . . . doubting as much his familier seruants, as his vnknowen subiectes (which spared not to speake that the Capitaines cause was profitable for the common wealth) departed in all haste to the Castell of Kylingworth in Warwikeshire, leaving onely behinde him the Lorde Scales to keepe the Towre of London. The Capitaine, being aduertised of the Kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the whyte Hart, prohibyting to all men murder, rape, or robbery: by which coulour he allured to him the harts of the common people" (Grafton, 641, 642). But he broke these fair pretences, which was his ruin.

37. *caterpillars*] "affirming his commyng, not to be against [the King], but against . . . oppressors of the poore Commonaltie, flatterers . . . suckers of his pursse and robbers of his subiectes" (641). This old term (caterpillars of the state) was very common, with its opportunity for quibbling—pillars of the state, and pillers (robbers).

38. *O graceless men! . . . do*] Here, as at ll. 8-10 in this scene, the religious side of Henry is again brought prominently forward, as throughout the play. Neither passages are in Q. "Graceless" is met with again in Part I. v. iv. 14; in *King John*, and in *Lucrece*. Peele uses it: "*graceless* wretches murder'd him by night" (*Honour of the Garter* (Dyce 587, b), 1593). The Chronicler calls them an "ungracious company." See note at v. 7 below. Let us hope this scene was Peele's in conception. It is only 25 lines in the original, where "march amaine to London" is like Peele. See Luke xxiii. 34: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

39. *retire to Killingworth*] See at line 26 above.

41. *were . . . Suffolk now alive*] This remark occurs later in Q; see Sc. ix. below. There is a deal of puzzling transposition in the later play, in these scenes.

41, 42. This remark of the Queen's has fallen from its place in the *Conten-*

King. Lord Say, the traitors hate thee,
Therefore away with us to Killingworth.
Say. So might your grace's person be in danger.
The sight of me is odious in their eyes;
And therefore in this city will I stay,
And live alone as secret as I may.

Enter another Messenger.

Second Mess. Jack Cade hath gotten London bridge;
The citizens fly and forsake their houses;
The rascal people, thirsting after prey,
Join with the traitor; and they jointly swear
To spoil the city and your royal court.
Buck. Then linger not, my lord; away! take horse.
King. Come, Margaret: God, our hope, will succour us.
Queen. My hope is gone, now Suffolk is deceased.
King. Farewell, my lord: trust not the Kentish rebels.
Buck. Trust nobody, for fear you be betrayed.
Say. The trust I have is in mine innocence,
And therefore am I bold and resolute.

[*Exeunt.*

43, 44. *Lord Say . . . Killingworth*] 18-22. *Go bid Buckingham and Clifford, gather An Army up, and meete with the Rebels. Come Madame, let us haste to Killingworth. Come on Lord Say, go thou along with us, For feare the Rebell Cade do finde thee out.* 45-58. *Say. So might . . . Buck. Trust nobody . . .*] omitted Q. 59, 60. *Say. The trust . . . resolute. Exeunt*] 23-26. *Say. My innocence my Lord shall pleade for me. And therefore with your highnesse leave, ile staie behind. King. Euen as thou wilt my Lord Say, Come Madame, let vs go. Exet omnes.*

tion (which should be here) to the beginning of Scene ix. See note there at l. 1.

43. *Lord Say, the traitors hate thee*] Lord Say was included in the accusation of the Commons against the Duke of Suffolk, for the loss of Anjou and Maine. See note, IV. i. 86.

49. *London bridge*] "The multitude of the rebels draue the Citezens from the stoulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and beganne to set fyre in diuers houses. Alas what sorrowe it was to beholde that miserable chaunce; for some desyring to eschewe the fyre, lept on his enimies weapon and so died; fearefull women with children in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the river: other . . . were in their houses suffocat (here was the great Suffolk pun) and smoldered . . . in conclusion, the rebels gate the drawe bridge and drowned many, and slue Iohn Sutton Alderman . . . with many other, beside Mathew Gough. . . . This hard and sore conflict endured on the Bridge till ix. of the clocke in the mornyng, in doubtfull chaunce . . . sometyme the Londoners were bet back to the stulpes at Saint Magnus corner, and sodainly agayne the rebels were repulsed and driuen backe to the stulpes in Southwarke" (642, 643). "Saint Magnus' corner" appears below, viii. 1.

SCENE V.—*London. The Tower.*

Enter Lord SCALES *upon the Tower, walking. Then enter two or three Citizens below.*

Scales. How now! is Jack Cade slain?

First Cit. No, my lord, nor likely to be slain; for they have won the bridge, killing all those that withstand them. The lord mayor craves aid of your honour from the Tower, to defend the city from the rebels.

Scales. Such aid as I can spare you shall command;
But I am troubled here with them myself;
The rebels have essayed to win the Tower.
But get you to Smithfield and gather head,
And thither I will send you Matthew Goffe;
Fight for your king, your country, and your lives;
And so farewell, for I must hence again.

[*Exeunt.*

Enter the Lord Skayles upon the Tower walles walking. Enter three or foure Citizens below. 1-6. *Scales. How . . . First Citizen. No . . . craves . . . rebels*] 1-6. *Lord Scales. How . . .* 1. *Citizen. No . . . craueth . . . Rebels* (as verse). 7-13. *Scales. Such aid . . . essay'd . . . hence again*] 7-13. *Lord Scales. Such aide . . . attempted . . . hence againe. Exet omnes.*

1. *How now!*] Very common in Shakespeare's plays from first to last. It is perhaps more abundant even in the *Contention* than in the revision. Greene uses it in *Alphonsus*, etc., but I doubt if any writer has it so pat as Shakespeare. However, Kyd couldn't get on without it either. Used where we say "How," "Well" or "what news," interrogatively. It is fortunately not easy to remember always that many such expressions which have a pleasant archaic ring, and are further consecrated by their use in favoured authors and writings, were mere common-places in speech.

7. *Such aid as I can spare you shall command*] "The wise Maior and sage Magistrates . . . determined with force to repell and expulse this mischieuous heade, with his vngracious company. And because the Lorde Scales was ordeyned Keeper of the Toure of London, with Mathew Gough, the often named Capitaine in Normandie . . . they purposed to make them priuie . . . of their entent. The Lord Scales promised them his ayde, with shooting of ordinaunce, and Mathew Gough was by him appointed, to assist the Mayre and the Londoners" (p. 642). Scene v. should precede the latter part of Scene iv., historically so also should Cade's speech in Scene iv., which is obviously misplaced.

10. *gather head*] This expression has occurred earlier in the *Contention*, at the end of III. i. 382, 383. So Peele in the *Battle of Alcazar*, iii. 1 (Dyce, 432, a):—

"The Spaniard ready to embark himself,
Here *gathers to a head*";

i.e. collects together a force. Used in a different sense in *The Tempest*. See Part I. I. iv. 100, and note.

SCENE VI.—*London. Cannon Street.*

Enter JACK CADE *and the rest, and strikes his staff on London-stone.*

Cade. Now is Mortimer lord of this city. And here, sitting upon London-stone, I charge and command that, of the city's cost, the pissing-conduit run nothing but claret wine this first year of our reign. And now henceforward it shall be treason for any that calls me other than Lord Mortimer.

Enter a Soldier, running.

Sold. Jack Cade! Jack Cade!

Cade. Knock him down there. [*They kill him.*

Smith. If this fellow be wise, he 'll never call you Jack Cade more: I think he hath a very fair warning.

Dick. My lord, there 's an army gathered together in Smithfield.

Cade. Come then, let 's go fight with them. But first, go

1. *here*] *now*, Q. 2, 3. *I charge . . . cost*] 2, 3. *We command, That the first yeare of our raigne.* 4. *claret wine . . . reign*] 4. *red wine.* 4, 6. *And . . . other than Lord Mortimer*] 5-7. *And . . . any otherwise then Lord Mortemer* (Cade's speech printed as if verse). *Enter a souldier.* 7, 8. *Sold. Jack . . . there*] 8, 9. *Sould. Iacke . . . Cade. Sounes, knock hiw downe. They kill him.* 9, 10. *Smith. If this . . . warning*] omitted Q. 11-15. *Dick. My lord, there's . . . in Smithfield . . . go and set . . . on fire . . . away*] 10-15. *Dicke. My Lord, theirs . . . into Smythfield . . . go on and set . . . afire . . . away. Exet omnes. Alarmes, and then Matthew Goffe is slaine, and all the rest with him. Then enter Iacke Cade again, and his company.*

1, 2. *Mortimer lord of this city . . . London-stone*] Grafton places this event before the London bridge fight, at the time Cade was at the White Hart in Southwark: "But after that, he entered into London, and cut the ropes of the draw bridge, striking his sworde on *London stone*, saiyng: now is *Mortimer Lorde of this Citie*" (p. 642).

3. *pissing-conduit*] "The little Conduite called the *pissing Conduite*, by the Stokes Market" (Stow's *Survey of London*). It is mentioned by Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (Grosart, v. 20), written in 1593. This last reference is referred to by Ritson (Steevens' *Shakespeare*) in an unintelligible manner. Steevens has a further note, illustrating the expression from French historical records, date 1453. It occurs very often in the *Contention*.

4. *claret wine*] Already mentioned in the *Contention*. See note at "charneco," II. iii. 63: "I pledged him in a cup of neate claret-wine." Occurs in a tract (1588), reprinted as Kyd's by Boas (p. 247).

8. *Knock him down*] The *Contention* printers have at last arrived at a reasonable printing of "zounds." It is "sounes" here. Earlier as "sonnes" it caused confusion.

9, 10. *he 'll never call you Jack Cade more*] An insult to the Knight. Perhaps suggested by: "He also put to execucion in Southwarke diuers persons . . . of his old acquaintaunce, least they should blase and declare his base birth, and lowsy lynage, disparagyng him from his vsurped surname of Mortimer" (Grafton, p. 642).

and set London bridge on fire, and, if you can, burn down the Tower too. Come, let 's away.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE VII.—*London. Smithfield.*

Alarums. MATTHEW GOFFE *is slain and all the rest. Then enter* JACK CADE *with his company.*

Cade. So, sirs. Now go some and pull down the Savoy; others to the inns of court: down with them all.

Dick. I have a suit unto your lordship.

Cade. Be it a lordship, thou shalt have it for that word.

Dick. Only that the laws of England may come out of your mouth.

John. [*Aside.*] Mass, 'twill be sore law then; for he was thrust in the mouth with a spear, and 'tis not whole yet.

1, 2. *Cade. So, . . . them all*] 1, 2. *Cade. So, . . . them all,* 3-5. *I have . . . a lordship, thou . . . word*] 3-5. *I haue . . . a Lordship Dicke, and thou . . . word.* 6-12. *Only that . . . cheese*] omitted here, but see above, Scene ii. 74-83 collation.

14. *set London bridge on fire*] See note at iv. 48 for the Chronicle version; and below (IV. vii. 124) for the *Contention* passage.

SCENE VII.

Matthew Goffe is slain] See note at iv. 48.

1, 2. *Savoy . . . inns of court*] From Fabyan's account of the 1381 rebellion. Holinshed does not mention the "Inns of Court." See Introduction upon *Jack Straw*. Fabyan says (430, edited 1811): "They . . . came vnto ye duke of Lancasters place standyng without ye Temple Barre, callyd *Sauoy*, & spoyled that was therin & after set it upon fyre & brent it. . . . Than they entryd the cytie & serchied the Temple and other inns of Court, & spoyled theyr places & brent theyr bokys of lawe, & slewe as many men of lawe & questmongers as they myght fynde; & that done they went to Seynt Martyns ye Graunde, & toke with them all seyntwary men, & the prysons of Newgate, Ludgate, & of bothe Counters, & distroyed theyr registers & bokis, & in lyke maner they dyd with the prysoners of the Marshalse & Kynges Benche in Southwerke" (Fol. C. xlviii.). Fabyan names the leaders as follows: "In this mayers yere and ende of the thyrde yere of Kyng Richard . . . ye comons arose sodeynly and ordeynyd to them rulers and capytaynys, & specially in Kent and Essex, the whiche namyd theyr leders Iacke Strawe, Wyl Wawe, Watte Tyler, Iacke Shepeherde, Tomme Myller, and Hobbe Carter." The *Contention* gives a Will and a Tom. Compare here (Peele's *Jack Straw*, Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 393, 394): "Re-enter Tom Miller, with Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, Hob Carter . . .

Hob. And we 'll not leave a man of law
Not a paper worth a haw,
And make him worse than a daw
That shall stand against Jack Straw."

6, 7. *that the laws of England may come out of your mouth*] Boswell Stone quotes Holinshed (iii. 432): "putting his [Watt Tyler] hand to his lips, that within foure daies all *the lawes of England should come foorth of his mouth.*"

9-11. *thrust in the mouth with a spear . . . stinking law*] These lines, John's and Smith's asides, have been transposed hither from Cade's first appearance, Scene ii. in the *Contention*.

Smith. [*Aside.*] Nay, John, it will be stinking law; for his breath stinks with eating toasted cheese.

Cade. I have thought upon it; it shall be so. Away! burn all the records of the realm: my mouth shall be the parliament of England.

John. [*Aside.*] Then we are like to have biting statutes, unless his teeth be pulled out.

Cade. And henceforward all things shall be in common.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My lord, a prize, a prize! here 's the Lord Say, which sold the towns in France; he that made us

13-15. *Cade. I have . . . England*] 6-8. *Dicke. That we may go burne all the Records, And that all writing may be put downe, And nothing usde but the score and the Tally.* 16, 17. *John. Then . . . out*] omitted Q. 18, 19. (*Cade. And . . . common*] 8-16. *Cade. Dicke it shall be so, and . . . common* Cade's speech here in Q continues, Scene ii. 76-82 above, reading) *Why ist not a miserable thing . . . parchment be made, & then with a litle blotting ouer with inke, a man should vndo himselfe. Some saies tis . . . their waxe, for I am sure I neuer seald to anything but once, and . . . since* (see below, vii. 125, for close of *Contention* dialogue here). *Enter George.* 20, 21. *Mess. My lord . . . France*] 22, 23. *George. My Lord . . . France.* 21-23. *he that . . . subsidy*] omitted Q.

They should have remained there. Cade, now victorious, is too great a personage for such slights, and they belong to that dialogue. From 7 to 12 have rambled here by some error.

14. *records of the realm*] See note at l. 1 of this scene. "Parchment" in ii. 79 has the same reference. Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 398): "Making foul slaughter of your noblemen, Burning up books and matters of *records*, Defacing houses." And at page 401: "Enter Tom Miller to burn papers . . . I have made a bonfire here, Of a great many of bonds and indentures, And obligations; faith I have been amongst The ends of the court, and among the *records* . . . in the Guild-Hall."

16, 17. *biting statutes . . . teeth*] See note at "forfeits in a barber's shop" (*Measure for Measure*, v. i. 323, Arden edition). Since I wrote that note I have met the following passage in *Plaine Percevall* (reprint 1842, p. 19): "Speake a blooddy word in a Barbors shop, you make a forfet; and good reason too, Caphim sirra, if he pay it not." This tends to invalidate my note.

18, 19. *all things shall be in common*] See note at "all the realm *shall be in common*," above, ii. 68. From the earlier rebellion account in Grafton.

20. *here 's the Lord Say*] This event took place before London Bridge battle, while Cade was at the White Hart in Southwark, according to Hall and Grafton: "And upon the third day of Iulij, he caused syr James Fynes Lorde Say, and Threasorer of England, to be brought to the Gylde hall of London, and there to be arrayned: which being before the king's Iustices put to aunswere, desyred to be tryed by his peeres, for the lenger delay of his lyfe. The Capitaine perceiuing his dilatorie ple, by force tooke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Chepe, and there caused his head to be striken off, and pitched it on a high pole, which was openly borne before him through the streete. And this cruell tyraunt not content with the murder of the Lorde Say, went to Myle ende, and there apprehended syr Iames Cromer, then Shriefe of Kent, and sonne in lawe to the sayde Lorde Say, and caused him there likewise to be hedded, and his head to be fixed on a Pole, and with these two heades, thys blooddy Butcher entred into the Citie agayne, and in dispite caused them in euery strete, to kisse together" (p. 642).

pay one-and-twenty fifteens, and one shilling to the pound, the last subsidy.

Enter GEORGE BEVIS, *with the Lord* SAY.

Cade. Well, he shall be beheaded for it ten times. Ah, thou say, thou serge, nay, thou buckram lord! now art thou within point-blank of our jurisdiction regal. What canst thou answer to my majesty for giving up of Normandy unto Mounsieur Basimecu, the Dauphin of France? Be it known unto thee by these presence, even the presence of Lord Mortimer, that I

24. *Well . . . times*] omitted Q. 24, 25. *Ah, . . . lord*] 24. *Cade, Come hither thou Say, thou George, thou buckrum lord.* 25, 26. *Now . . . regal*] omitted Q. 27-29. *What . . . France?*] 25-27. *What answere canst thou make vnto my mightinesse, for deliuering vp the townes in France to Mounsier bus mine cue, the Dolphin of France?* 29-32. *Be it . . . thou art*] omitted Q.

22. *fifteens*] See note at "John Mortimer," IV. ii. 119. But the reference is to fifteen taken up for the transporting of Queen Margaret to England. See I. i. 134.

23. *subsidy*] special assessment.

25. *say*] More name-quibbling. Walter, Cade, Maine, Pole, Suffolk, Lacy. A strong and common stuff, fit to supply an abusive epithet. The punishment for a woman of the lowest order is thus given in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part II. IV. ii. (1578):—

"Into a carte they did the queane convay
Apparelled in colours verie gaye
Both hoode and gowne of greene and yellow *saye*."

Whatever it was, it was durable, cheap, and probably nasty. Some kind of coarse silk cloth. Holland speaks of "that fine *say* whereof silke cloth is made" (*Plinie*, xi. 23). The resolve to connect *say* with *soie* (saye) has led to error. *Prompt. Parvulorum* has "*Saye*, cloth, *Sagum*." Even in Cotgrave the two are not connected where reference should first have been made; he has "seyette, serge or *sey*." Palsgrave (1530) has a similar gloss. See also Howell's *Vocabulary*, Section xxv.: "Silk serge; *Saia di Seta; Serge de soie*." And "Serge; *saia rascia*"; "Mixt serge; *saia mischio*," etc. etc.

25. *serge*] Another cheap, common stuff, fit to slight a nobleman with. Ben Jonson was continually reproached for his shabby clothes, made of perpetuana. When Hedon, in *Cynthia's Revels*, III. ii., is blackguarding Crites (Jonson), he says: "By this heaven, I wonder at nothing more than our gentlemen ushers that will suffer a piece of *serge* or perpetuana to come into this presence: methinks they should, out of their experience, better distinguish the silken disposition of courtiers, than to let such terrible coarse rags mix with us, able to fret any smooth or gentle society to the threads with their rubbing devices." A pity Ben didn't mention "say" here. There isn't a note on this passage in the commentators that did not either enlarge an earlier muddle or create a new one. Halliwell says there was a quibble between George and serge! Halliwell's sense of humour is suspectful.

25. *buckram*] "coarse linen stiffened with glue' (Schmidt). It was used (as now) for making bags (Grosart's Greene, x. 77; Grosart's Nashe, ii. 17) and curtains (Greene, x. 272); and giants for the stage (Nashe, ii. 131).

26. *point-blank*] range, reach. Used in the literal (gunnery) sense in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. ii. 34, and see note, Arden edition, p. 121.

29, 30. *by these presence*] Corrected to "presents" in F. 4. Compare *As You Like It*, I. ii. 132. Legal (per has literas presentes), and commonly used in mandates. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 186 (Arden edition, note, p. 97). In Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, v.: "Be it known to all that profess courtship *by*

am the besom that must sweep the court clean of such filth as thou art. Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar-school; and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and contrary to the king his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face that thou hast men about

32-34. *Thou hast . . . school*] 28, 29. *And more then so, thou hast most traitorously erected a grammer schoole, to infect the youth of the realme.* 34-36. *and whereas . . . used*] omitted Q (but see l. 7 above, and IV. ii. 47, also *Contention* for *score and tally*). 36, 37. *and contrary to . . . built a . . . mill*] 29, 30. *and against . . . built vp a . . . mill.* 38-41. *It will be . . . talk of . . . can . . . hear*] 30-33. *nay it wil be said to thy . . . face, that thou kepst men in thy house that daily reades of bookes with red letters, and talkes of . . . is able to endure it.*

these presents." And Greene's *Looking Glasse for London:* "Then, friends, know ye *by these presents*, I will eate up all my meate" (Grosart, xiv. 109). See too Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, the agreement between Mephistopheles and the Doctor. And the old play of *Timon*, IV. ii.

31. *the besom that must sweep*] "I will also make it a possession for the bittern . . . and I will *sweep it with the besom* of destruction" (Isaiah xiv. 23). Not again in Shakespeare.

33, 34. *grammar-school*] Holinshed says that in 1381 the rebels obliged "teachers of children in *grammar schooles* to sweare neuer to instruct any in their art . . . it was dangerous among them to be knowne for one that was lerned; and more dangerous, if any men were found with a penner and inkhorne at his side; for such seldome or neuer escaped from them with life" (Boswell Stone). See above, IV. ii. 109. "Pen and inkhorn" occurs again, *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. v. 63. "Grammar-school" not elsewhere.

34, 35. *no other books*] See note at "records," above, l. 14.

35. *score and tally*] Cade uses these words three times in the text of the *Contention*, where jumbling seems to have taken place largely in this Act. Not in Shakespeare again. Skeat refers to this passage in his edition of *Piers the Plowman*, ii. 56. A tally was a rod of hazel, with notches to mark accounts of monies lent, etc. The other of the pair was in the customer's hands. The combination of terms in the text has not been noted elsewhere. In *Arden of Feversham*, v. i., Black Will meets a brewer's cart: "I made no more ado, but went to the clerk and cut all the notches of his *tallies*, and beat them about his head."

37. *paper-mill*] In 1588, that inexhaustible writer, Thomas Churchyard, published "*A Sparke of Friendship and Warme Good-will* . . . with a description and commendation of a Paper-Mill, now and of late set up (neere the Town of Darthford) by an High Germayn, called M. Spilman, Jeweller to the Qu. most excellent Majestie." The Paper-Mill is described in a poem as an entirely new thing:—

> "Though some do say, in France, and other place,
> Are *Paper-Mills*, as fayre and straunge as this;
> What's that to us? this gives our Country grace,
> And to all Kent a double honour is."

Spill-man is "Help-man," because "Six hundred men are set at worke by him That else might starve." No wonder a Kentish socialist was incensed. Capital was in sight. The tract will be found at the end of the second volume of Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*. The words about printing may have been suggested:—

> "Now stripling yong but late came out of shell,
> To schoole good boyes . . .
> Now Printer's presse . . .
> Besturre the stampe."

And the anachronism was overlooked. See "base-born," note, I. iii. 84.

thee that usually talk of a noun, and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear. Thou hast appointed justices of peace, to call poor men before them about matters they were not able to answer. Moreover, thou hast put them in prison; and because they could not read, thou hast hanged them; when indeed only for that cause they have been most worthy to live. Thou dost ride in a foot-cloth, dost thou not?

Say. What of that?

Cade. Marry, thou oughtest not to let thy horse wear a cloak, when honester men than thou go in their hose and doublets.

Dick. And work in their shirt too; as myself, for example, that am a butcher.

Say. You men of Kent,—

Dick. What say you of Kent!

Say. Nothing but this: 'tis "bona terra, mala gens."

Cade. Away with him! away with him! he speaks Latin.

Say. Hear me but speak, and bear me where you will. Kent, in the Commentaries Cæsar writ, Is termed the civil'st place of all this isle:

41-44. *Thou hast . . . prison*] 34, 35. *And besides all that, thou hast appointed certaine Iustices of peace in euery . . . to hang honest men that steale for their living.* 44, 45. *and . . . hanged them*] 35, 36. *and . . . hung them vp.* 45-47. *when indeed . . . that . . . have been . . . dost ride in . . . not?*] 36-38. *Onely for which . . . were . . . ridest on . . . not?* 48. *What*] 39. *Yes, what.* 49-51. *Marry, thou . . . honester men than thou go . . . their . . . doublets*] 40-42. *Marry, I say thou . . . an honester man than thy selfe, goes . . . his . . . doublet.* 52, 53. *Dick. And . . . butcher*] omitted Q. 54-58. *Say. You men . . . Latin*] 43-49. *Say. You men of Kent. All. Kent, what of Kent? Say. Nothing but bona terra. Cade. Bonum terrum, sounds what 's that? Dicke. He speakes French. Will. No tis Dutch. Nicke. No tis outtalian, I know it well inough.* 59. *Say. Hear . . . speak . . . will*] 52. *Then noble Country-men, heare . . . speake.* 60, 61. *Kent . . . writ, Is term'd the . . . isle*] 50, 51. *Say. Kent . . . wrote Termde it the . . . land.*

47. *foot-cloth*] See note above, IV. i. 54.

50, 51. *hose and doublets*] In his later plays "doublet and hose" means a male with Shakespeare (*Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It*, etc.).

54. *men of Kent*] Grosse says this title belongs "to those east of the Medway, the rest are called *Kentishmen*." Modern.

60, 61. *Kent . . . civil'st place*] Golding translates the passage (Cæsar's *Commentaries*, bk. v.): "Ex his omnibus sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt . . . Of all the inhabitants of this isle the civilest are the Kentishfolke" (Steevens). And Lyly, as Malone points out, quotes these words exactly in *Euphues* (Arber, p. 247), 1580. Golding's translation appeared in 1565. In *Euphues* the reading is "Kentishfolke." See *3 Henry VI.* I. ii. 41-43, where this passage is partly repeated. That the Kentishmen were full of spirit in those times appeared often in the Chronicles. Whenever there were tempestuous broils in London, they came up to look for sport—or spoil.

Sweet is the country, because full of riches;
The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy;
Which makes me hope you are not void of pity.
I sold not Maine, I lost not Normandy;
Yet, to recover them, would lose my life.
Justice with favour have I always done;
Prayers and tears have moved me, gifts could never.
When have I aught exacted at your hands,
But to maintain the king, the realm, and you?
Large gifts have I bestowed on learned clerks,
Because my book preferred me to the king,
And seeing ignorance is the curse of God,
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven,
Unless you be possessed with devilish spirits,
You cannot but forbear to murder me:
This tongue hath parleyed unto foreign kings
For your behoof,—
Cade. Tut, when struck'st thou one blow in the field?
Say. Great men have reaching hands: oft have I struck
Those that I never saw, and struck them dead.

62-64. *Sweet . . . pity*] omitted Q. 65. *I . . . Normandy*] 53. *I . . . Normandie.* 66-89. *Yet, to recover them . . . help of hatchet*] omitted Q.

64. *void of pity*] "devoid of pity" is in *Titus Andronicus*, Shakespeare's (?) only use of "devoid." Spenser has "devoid of" (*Faerie Queene*, III. iv. 35), and in other places. "Void of" was much commoner (Golding, Peele, Spenser, etc.).

69, 70. *exacted at your hands But to maintain the king*] In Arnold's *Chronicle* (reprint 1811, p. 179) there is "A Prouision by Acte of Parlement to brynge Kynge Henry the VI. out of the dett, ccc. lxxxij. M.li." It was a general resumption of grants made since the beginning of his reign, with special exceptions in favour of the queen's dower, or freehold, the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton, and the Churches. Also the mayors and city burgesses and the Admiral of England were exempt. It was "to begynne and take effecte the fyrst daye of your parlement holden at Westmynster the XXVIIJ. yere of your regne." It announced that "the comons be so improvyshed by taking of vitayle for your houshold and other thinges in your sayd reame and nought payde for, and the quynzysne (fifteens) by your saide comons afore this tyme so often graunted . . . and by the graunte of subsidye upon the wulles (wools) and other grauntes . . . the comons be full nye dystroyed." The resumption was to take the place of fifteens and various other subsidies. "Prouided also that thys acte be not p'iudicial to your Chauncelor and Tresorer of England [Lord Say], priuie sel justice, barons, etc. . . . nor to ani other of your officers in the Curtis of recorde . . . sergeaunts of lawe, etc." This was the year of the rebellion, and affords a good insight to the people's state of mind, and plenty of grounds for hostility against Lord Say and his quinziemes. He was lord-treasurer in 1449, sequestered in 1450 for Anjou and Maine, and handed over to Cade on the 4th July, 1450. The gifts on learned clerks is illustrated by the reserves in favour of Cambridge and Eton. "Maintaining the king" is "relieving your high estate."

72. *my book*] book-knowledge, learning. Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 113: "makes his *book* thine eyes." Study.

76. *forbear to murder*] See note at "Forbear to judge," III. iii. 31.

80. *Great men have reaching hands*] Compare *Selimus* (by Greene, Peele and Marlowe (Grosart's Greene, xiv.

Geo. O monstrous coward! what, to come behind folks!
Say. These cheeks are pale for watching for your good.
Cade. Give him a box o' the ear, and that will make 'em red again.
Say. Long sitting, to determine poor men's causes,
Hath made me full of sickness and diseases.
Cade. Ye shall have a hempen caudle then, and the help of hatchet.
Dick. Why dost thou quiver, man?
Say. The palsy, and not fear, provokes me.
Cade. Nay, he nods at us; as who should say, I'll be even with you: I'll see if his head will stand steadier on a pole or no. Take him away and behead him.
Say. Tell me wherein have I offended most?
Have I affected wealth or honour? speak.
Are my chests filled up with extorted gold?
Is my apparel sumptuous to behold?
Whom have I injured, that ye seek my death?
These hands are free from guiltless blood-shedding,

90. *Dick. Why . . . man?*] 54. *Cade. But wherefore doest thou shake thy head so?* 91. *The . . . provokes me*] 55. *It is the . . . that makes me.* 92-111. *Nay, he nods . . . two poles hither*] 56-61. *Cade. Nay thou nodst thy head, as who say, thou wilt be euen with me, if thou getst away, but ile make thee sure inough, now I haue thee. Go take him to the standerd in Cheapside and chop of his head, and then go to milende greene, to Sir Iames Cromer his sonne in law, and cut off his head too, and bring them to me upon two poles presently. Away with him. Exet one or two, with the Lord Say.*

277): "Know'st thou not, Solyma, kings *haue long hands?*" A translation of an old saying in R. Edward's *Damon and Pithias* (*ante* 1566) (Hazlitt's Dodsley, iv. 35): "leave off this talk of King Dionysius. *Carisophus.* Why, sir? he cannot hear us. *Damon.* What then? An nescis longas regibus esse manus? It is no safe talking of them that strikes afar off." Say's lines are a paraphrase of Damon's. "Great lords have long arms, but they do not reach to heaven," is German, and "kings have long arms," is Italian.

84. *box o' the ear*] From the title of Lyly's "Pappe with an Hatchet. Alias, A figge for my God sonne. Or, Cracke me this nut. Or, A Countrie cuffe, that is, a sound *boxe of the eare*," etc. The earliest example of "box of the ear" in *New Eng. Dict.* This passage as well as the "hempen caudle" and "help of hatchet" speech below, are omitted in the *Contention.*

88, 89. *caudle . . . hatchet*] Compare the title of Lyly's tract above, l. 84. Steevens read "pap of a hatchet" (1793). He is to be hanged first and beheaded, for the pole, afterwards. Hanged and headed. "Caudle" is "candle" in Ff. For "hempen," with reference to hanging, *New Eng. Dict.* gives "hempyn lane" (Hoccleve, 1420). Lodge has "hempen windows" (*A Figge for Momus*, 1595); Marlowe has "hempen tippit" in *Jew of Malta.* "Caudle" must be a right emendation here, though not so, I believe, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. iii. 174; see note, Arden edition. "Hempen wisp" occurs in this tract; and Nashe has half a dozen uses of the word.

101. *guiltless blood-shedding*] shedding of guiltless blood.

This breast from harbouring foul deceitful thoughts.
O! let me live.

Cade. [*Aside.*] I feel remorse in myself with his words; but I'll bridle it: he shall die, an it be but for pleading so well for his life. Away with him! he has a familiar under his tongue; he speaks not o' God's name. Go, take him away, I say, and strike off his head presently; and then break into his son-in-law's house, Sir James Cromer, and strike off his head, and bring them both upon two poles hither.

All. It shall be done.

Say. Ah! countrymen, if when you make your prayers,
God should be so obdurate as yourselves,
How would it fare with your departed souls?
And therefore yet relent and save my life.

Cade. Away with him! and do as I command ye.

[*Exeunt some with Lord* SAY.

The proudest peer in the realm shall not wear a head on his shoulders, unless he pay me tribute; there shall not a maid be married, but she shall pay to me her maidenhead, ere they have it. Men shall hold of me in capite; and we charge and command that their wives be as free as heart can wish or tongue can tell.

118-123. *The proudest . . . wear . . . unless he . . . there . . . but she . . . Men . . . and . . . that their . . . wish or . . . tell*] 62-67. *There shall not a noble man weare . . . But he shall . . . for it. Nor there . . . but he shal fee to me for her Maydenhead or else, ile haue it myselfe, Marry I will that married*

102. *harbouring foul deceitful thoughts*] See above, III. i. 54 and *3 Henry VI.* III. ii. 164. Used in this bad sense again in *King Lear*, II. ii. 108. The use in Spenser is not so: "The noble hart that *harbours* vertuous *thought*" (*Faerie Queen*, I. v. 1).

105. *bridle*] restrain; see above, I. i. 198, and Part III. IV. iv. 19. Also in *Comedy of Errors*, but not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Greene uses it several times. See note above. One of many expressions, cast off perhaps after Greene's attack. It is not in Kyd.

107. *familiar*] See note at Part I. III. ii. 122.

114. *obdurate*] See note, *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 142. Marlowe's pronunciation, as in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. i.: "your *obdurate* breasts."

119-121. *tribute . . . maidenhead*] *Jack Straw* (by Peele) opens with Jack's slaying of a "Collector of Tasks" (taxes, as in Grafton) for searching of his daughter in his presence. He had affirmed that she was under age. He says to the Collector:—

"Thou hast thy task-money for all that be here,
My daughter is not fourteen years old, therefore she goes clear."

See Introduction on *Jack Straw*.

120, 121. *maid be married . . . maidenhead*] Halliwell has a note in the *Contention* here on "The disgusting custom of Mercheta Mulierum, with an extract from Skene." See Cowell's *Law Dictionary*. Often referred to. See Beaumont and Fletcher's *Custom of the County*, which is founded upon it. Also Massinger's *Guardian*, I. v. (of tenants' daughters); and the question is discussed in *Gesta Grayorum*, Part II. (Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 329). See also Blount's *Glossographia*, in v. Marcheta.

122. *in capite*] in chief; by direct grant from the Crown. Law term.

123. *as free . . . tell*] Halliwell says (*Contention*, Shakespeare Library):

Dick. My lord, when shall we go to Cheapside and take up commodities upon our bills? 125

Cade. Marry, presently.

All. O! brave.

Re-enter one with the heads.

Cade. But is not this braver? Let them kiss one another, for they loved well when they were alive. Now part them again, lest they consult about the giving up 130

men, . . . And that their . . . thinke, or . . . tell (as verse). 124-127. *Dick. My lord . . . brave*] (see above, l. 20) 17-21. *Nicke. But when shall we take vp those commodities Which you told vs of. Cade. Marry he that will lustily stand to it, Shall go with me, and take vp these commodities following: Item, a gowne, a kirtle, a petticoate, and a smocke.* 123-128. (Two short scenes in *Contention* follow *toong can tell*, wholly omitted in revision) 68-84. *Enter Robin. Robin. O Captaine, London bridge is a fire. Cade. Runne to Billingsgate, and fetch pitch and flaxe and squench it. Enter Dicke and a Sargiant. Sargiant. Iustice, iustice, I pray you Sir, let me haue iustice of this fellow here. Cade. Why what has he done? Sarg. Alasse sir he has rauisht my wife. Dicke. Why my Lord he would haue rested me, And I went and entred my Action in his wiues paper house. Cade. Dicke follow thy sute in her common place, You horson villaine you are a Sargiant voule, Take any man by the throate for twelue pence, And rest a man when hees at dinner, And haue him to prison ere the meate be out of his mouth. Go Dicke take him hence and cut out his toong for cogging, Hough him for running, and to conclude, Brane him with his owne mace. Exet with the Sargiant. Enter two with the Lord Sayes head, and Sir Iames Cromers, upon two poles.* 128-135. *But is . . . kiss. Away!*] 85-86. *So, come carry them before me, and at euery lanes ends, let them kisse togither.*

"There are several ancient grants from our early kings to their subjects, written in rude verse, and empowering them to enjoy their lands as 'free as heart can wish or tongue can tell.' Nearly the precise words occur in the Year Book of Henry VII." Halliwell's statement is difficult to know what to do with. But the expression occurs in Nashe, *Have with you*, etc. (Grosart, iii. 47), 1596: "so rascally printed and ill interpreted as heart can thinke, or tongue can tell." I would rather have my little modest Nashe note. Compare too Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie*, I. i.:—

"I saw more sights than thousand tongues can tell,
Or pennes can write, or mortall harts can think."

See *Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 40 and II. i. 11.

123. *tongue can tell*] After those words occur (in *Contention*) two short scenes wholly omitted in the revision. The first merely states that London bridge has been fired, as Cade ordered in scene vi. (and see note, iv. 48). The second is indecent, but the language is Shakespeare's. Note "and to conclude"; "rest" for "arrest," (*Comedy of Errors*, four times); "take by throat" (*As You Like It*, but usual); "brain him with" (*1 Henry IV.* II. iii. 24); "have one (to a place)" often occurs; and "follow a suit" (*Merchant of Venice* and *Comedy of Errors*). "Hough" is not in Shakespeare but it is Biblical (Joshua xi. 6). And to conclude, the omitted parts are by Shakespeare. In the second omitted scene Cade turns the tables of immorality on the ruling classes. See note above, ll. 121, 122; and below, viii. 29. For "hough," see note at "burly-boned" x. 57. "Cog" is frequent in Shakespeare. And for "Brain him with his own mace," compare "Brain him with his lady's fan," in *1 Henry IV.* II. iii. 24.

124, 125. *take up commodities*] This speech may have been also curtailed (like that in last note) in order to omit grossness from *Contention*. For "commodities" in this sense (goods), see *Measure for Measure*, IV. iii. v. (and note, Arden edition). And for the quibbling on "bills" (which is not in *Contention*), see *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. iii. 190.

of some more towns in France. Soldiers, defer the spoil of the city until night; for with these borne before us, instead of maces, will we ride through the streets; and at every corner have them kiss. Away! [*Exeunt.* 135

SCENE VIII.—*Southwark.*

Alarum and retreat. Enter CADE *and all his rabblement.*

Cade. Up Fish Street! down Saint Magnus' Corner! kill and knock down! throw them into Thames! [*Sound a parley.*] What noise is this I hear? Dare any be so bold to sound retreat or parley, when I command them kill? 5

Alarum . . . Enter Cade . . . Cade. Up Fish Street . . . kill!] omitted Q. *Enter Buckingham . . .*] *Enter the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Clifford the Earle of Comberland.* 6-18. *Buck. Ay, here . . . Clif. What say . . .*

Scene viii. This scene has been entirely rewritten by Shakespeare. The original one in the *Contention* bears stronger evidence of Peele's work than we have had for some little time; certainly since Cade's appearance. To begin with, Cade's speech (99-104) is not that of Shakespeare's Cade. It is Peele's "servile yokes." Compare

"overwearied with the yoke
And servile bondage of these Englishmen"

(*Edward the First*, Dyce, 405, b). "Servile" is a favourite with Peele (following Spenser). "Pull them down," often in Peele; "pull down lions and untamed beasts," same play (428, a). And "warlike friends," twice in twenty lines, is like Peele; "warlike" is constantly in his plays. "Muster your selves," "mustering of his men," *Battle of Alcazar*, iv. i. "If honour be the marke whereat thou aim'st" is a line of Peele's, *Battle of Alcazar*, ii. iv. (430, b).

"our forefathers wonne,
And winne again that thing"

—that is quite in Peele's catchword style of repetition.

"We come to fight, and fighting vow to die,
Or else to win the thing for which we came,"

will suffice, from his *Battle of Alcazar*, iv. ii. (435, b), but there are plenty more. Cade's word "valiancy" also is Peele's Cade, not Shakespeare's; "forc'd for want of valiancy my freedom to provoke" (*Sir Clyomon* (501 b)). For "pull them down," see i. i. 257; and *Selimus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 228): "I my selfe will pull them downe"; and p. 221: "Strong enemies to pull me downe againe."

rabblement] Occurs in *Julius Cæsar*, i. ii. 245. In *Faerie Queene*, i. vi. 8, and elsewhere.

1. *Saint Magnus' Corner*] See note at "London Bridge," above, iv. 48. A church at the bottom of Fish Street hill, London Bridge. Arnold gives a list of "Th' Articles founde by the Inquisitours at the Visitacion last done in Churche of *Saint Magnus*." It is singularly shocking! "Item, that diuers of the prestis and clarkes, in tyme of dyuyne seruise, be at tauerns and alehowsis, at fyshing, and other trifils, wherby dyuyne seruyce is let." And no accounts kept. This recalls a passage quoted from Peele's *Jack Straw* (381) in the parallels above.

2. *Thames*] Without article, in the old style, occurs again in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iii. v. 129; and *Henry V.* iv. i. 120.

3. *sound retreat*] Occurs again in *1 Henry IV.* v. iv. 163; and *Henry V.* iii. ii. 94. See too *1 Henry VI.* ii. ii. 3; and note at *3 Henry VI.* i. i. 5.

Enter BUCKINGHAM *and* CLIFFORD, *attended.*

Buck. Ay, here they be that dare and will disturb thee.
Know, Cade, we come ambassadors from the king
Unto the commons whom thou hast misled;
And here pronounce free pardon to them all
That will forsake thee and go home in peace.
Clif. What say ye, countrymen? will ye relent
And yield to mercy, whilst 'tis offered you,
Or let a rabble lead you to your deaths?
Who loves the king, and will embrace his pardon,
Fling up his cap, and say "God save his majesty!"
Who hateth him, and honours not his father,
Henry the Fifth, that made all France to quake,
Shake he his weapon at us, and pass by.
All. God save the king! God save the king!
Cade. What! Buckingham and Clifford, are ye so brave?
And you, base peasants, do ye believe him? will you needs be hanged with your pardons about your necks? Hath my sword therefore broke through London gates, that you should leave me at the White Hart in Southwark? I thought ye would never have given out these arms till you had recovered your ancient freedom; but you are all recreants and dastards, and delight to live in slavery to the nobility. Let them

pass by] 87-97. *Why country-men and warlike friends of Kent, What meanes this mutinous rebellions, That you in troopes do muster thus your selues, Vnder the conduct of this Traitor Cade? To rise against your soueraigne Lord and King, Who mildly hath his pardon sent to you, If you forsake this monstrous Rebell here? If honour be the marke whereat you aime, Then haste to France that our forefathers wonne, And winne againe that thing which now is lost, And leaue to seeke your Countries overthrow.* 19. *All. God . . . king!*] 98. *All. A Clifford, a Clifford.* They forsake Cade. 20-32. *Cade. What . . . upon you all*] 99-104. *Cade. Why how now, will you forsake your generall, And ancient freedome which you haue possest? To bend your necks vnder their servile yokes, Who if you stir, will straightwaies hang you vp, But follow me, and you shall pull them downe, And make them yeeld their liuings to your hands.*

15. *Fling up his cap*] Compare "throws up his cap for joy," Part III. II. i. 196; "hurl'd their caps up," *Richard III.* III. vii. 35; "cast their caps up," *Antony and Cleopatra,* IV. xii. 12; "threw caps up," *Coriolanus,* IV. vi. 135. And Peele, *Honour of the Garter,* 1593: "As little boys with *flinging up their caps* Congratulate great kings and warriors" (at the end).

18. *Shake he his weapon*] This common structure in Shakespeare has been noticed already.

20. *are ye so brave?*] Are ye so audacious, so overbearing. See *Coriolanus,* IV. v. 19.

25, 26. *given out*] surrendered. No other example of this use is in Shakespeare.

26, 27. *ancient freedom*] From the *Contention* (l. 100). Cade's speech here is in accordance with the villeins' demands in 1381. Cade said nothing of this sort. "And the King entered in among them, and spake unto them gently . . . I am your King, what lack ye? What doe ye say? Then such as heard him sayd, that ye will make us free for euer, our elues, our heyres, and oure landes, and that we be called no more bondmen" (Grafton, p. 423).

break your backs with burdens, take your houses over
your heads, ravish your wives and daughters before
your faces: for me, I will make shift for one, and so,
God's curse light upon you all!
All. We 'll follow Cade, we 'll follow Cade!
Clif. Is Cade the son of Henry the Fifth,
That thus you do exclaim you 'll go with him?
Will he conduct you through the heart of France,
And make the meanest of you earls and dukes?
Alas! he hath no home, no place to fly to;
Nor knows he how to live but by the spoil,
Unless by robbing of your friends and us.
Were 't not a shame, that whilst you live at jar,
The fearful French, whom you late vanquished,
Should make a start o'er seas and vanquish you?
Methinks already in this civil broil
I see them lording it in London streets,
Crying "Villiago!" unto all they meet.
Better ten thousand base-born Cades miscarry
Than you should stoop unto a Frenchman's mercy.
To France, to France! and get what you have lost;

33. *All. We'll . . . Cade!*] 105. *All. A Cade, a Cade. They runne to Cade againe.* 34-52. *Clif. Is Cade . . . victory*] 106-111. *Cliff. Braue warlike friends heare me but speak a word, Refuse not good whilst it is offered you, The King is mercifull, then yeeld to him, And I my selfe will go along with you, To Winsore Castle whereas the King abides, And on mine honour you shall haue no hurt.*

30. *ravish your wives*] A back reference to the omitted scene between Dicke, Sergeant, and Cade. For the "daughter" reference, see *Jack Straw*, at the commencement. In the omitted scene the tables are turned.

34-52. Clifford says here in the *Contention*, that the King is at "Winsore Castle"; whereas in Scene iv. he departed for Killingworth. This is corrected in revision. This part of the *Contention* is by Peele, which explains the confusion.

41. *live at jar*] quarrelling. See above, I. i. 253.

43. *start*] sudden outburst.

45. *lording it*] Not due to Greene (as has been stated), but from Spenser's *Shepheards Calender* (July), 1579: "They reigne and rulen over all And *lord it* as thy list." See Greene's *Frier Bacon* (Grosart, xiii. 34); Nashe, *Foure Letters Confuted* (Grosart, ii. 280); and *The Unfortunate Traveller* (v. 120). Greene has "prince it" also in *Frier Bacon*.

46. *Villiago!*] Florio has "*Villácco* (*Vigliacco*), a rascall, a base varlet, a knauish scoundrel, a scurvy fellow." Capell altered it to Florio's word. Theobald "corrected it," Malone says, to "Villageois!" A passage in *The Famous Victories* makes Florio's word certain: "*Derick.* O good Mounser. *Frenchman.* Come, come, you *villeaco*" (Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Library*, Part II. vol. i. p. 368). Ben Jonson has the word in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, v. iii. Shakespeare may have seen it in *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, 1587-1583 (Pride is a Lord of Spain): "*S. Pride.* Fuoro *Viliagos!* fuoro Lutheranos Ingleses! fuoro, sa, sa, sa! *Pomp.* Their shields are ours; they fled away with shame" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 474). Apparently Spanish for villains. For "sa, sa, sa," see *King Lear*, IV. vi. 207.

47. *base-born*] See note at I. iii. 84 above. Shakespeare may have taken this word from Churchyard's "Paper-Mill" poem referred to above, vii. 37.

Spare England, for it is your native coast.
Henry hath money, you are strong and manly;
God on our side, doubt not of victory.

All. A Clifford! a Clifford! we'll follow the king and Clifford.

Cade. Was ever feather so lightly blown to and fro as this multitude? The name of Henry the Fifth hales them to an hundred mischiefs, and makes them leave me desolate. I see them lay their heads together to surprise me. My sword make way for me, for here is no staying. In despite of the devils and hell, have through the very midst of you! and heavens and honour be witness, that no want of resolution in me, but only my followers' base and ignominious treasons, makes me betake me to my heels. [*Exit.*

Buck. What, is he fled? go some, and follow him;
And he that brings his head unto the king
Shall have a thousand crowns for his reward.
[*Exeunt some of them.*

Follow me, soldiers: we 'll devise a mean
To reconcile you all unto the king.
[*Exeunt.*

53, 54. *All. A Clifford . . . and Clifford*] 112. *All. A Clifford, a Clifford, God saue the King.* 55-64. *Cade. Was ever . . . to my heels*] 113-117. *Cade. How like a feather is this rascall company Blowne euery way, But that they may see there want no valiancy in me, My staffe shall make way through the midst of you, And so a poxe take you all* (as if verse). *He runs through them with his staffe, and flies away.* 65-69. *Buck. What, is he . . . the king*] 118-121. *Buc. Go some and make after him, and proclaime, That those that can bring the head of Cade, Shall haue a thousand Crownes for his labour, Come march away* (verse). *Exet omnes.*

55. *Was ever feather . . .*] This thought is developed in *3 Henry VI.* III. i. 84-89.

55. *to and fro*] Only in *King Lear* outside Parts I. and II. See Part I. II. i. 69.

58. *desolate*] all alone by myself.

58. *lay their heads together*] See note above, at III. i. 165.

63. *ignominious*] See note, III. i. 179. Not in Q.

64. *betake me to my heels*] "betake him to his legs" occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 34. The expression in the text occurs in Stubb's *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583 (quoted in *New Eng. Dict.*). For Cade's flight and the sequel, see beginning of Scene x. (extract). Peele has "I 'll take me to my legs" (*Sir Clyomon* (531, b)).

67. *thousand crowns*] Note the repetition in the *Contention*, a few lines below, corrected in revision.

68. *a mean*] See Part I. III. ii. 10; and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 38. See quotation from *Jack Straw*, "*a mean* to shed a world of blood," at I. i. 22 above.

SCENE IX.—*Kenilworth Castle.*

Sound trumpets. Enter KING, QUEEN, *and* SOMERSET, *on the terrace.*

King. Was ever king that joyed an earthly throne,
And could command no more content than I?
No sooner was I crept out of my cradle
But I was made a king at nine months old:
Was never subject longed to be a king
As I do long and wish to be a subject.

Enter BUCKINGHAM *and* CLIFFORD.

Buck. Health and glad tidings to your majesty!
King. Why, Buckingham, is the traitor Cade surprised?
Or is he but retired to make him strong?

Enter below, multitudes, with halters about their necks.

Clif. He 's fled, my lord, and all his powers do yield;
And humbly thus, with halters on their necks,
Expect your highness' doom, of life or death.
King. Then, heaven, set ope thy everlasting gates,

Enter King Henry and the Queene, and Somerset. 1-7. *King. Was ever . . . subject. Buck. Health . . . majesty!*] omitted Q (but compare 9-16 below after rebels' entry). 8, 9. *King. Why, Buckingham . . . strong?*] 1-8. *King. Lord Somerset, what newes here you of the Rebell Cade? Som. This, my gratious Lord, that the Lord Say is don to death, And the Citie is almost sackt. King. Gods will be done, for as he hath decreede, so must it be: And be it as he please, to stop the pride of those rebellious men. Queene. Had the noble Duke of Suffolke bene aliue, The Rebell Cade had bene suppresst ere this, And all the rest that do take part with him* (see for Queen's speech above, iv. 40, 41). *Enter below . . .*] *Enter the Duke of Buckingham and Clifford, with the Rebels, with halters about their necks.* 10-12. *Cliff. He 's fled . . . death*] 9-16. *Cliff. Long liue King Henry, England's lawfull king. Loe here my Lord, those Rebels are subdude, And offer their liues before your highnesse feete. King. But tell me Clifford, is there Captaine here. Clif. No, my gratious Lord, he is fled away, but proclamations are sent forth, that he that can but bring his head, shall haue a thousand crownes. But may it please your Maiestie, to pardon these their faults, that by that traitors meanes were thus misled.* 13-21. *King. Then, heaven . . . countries*] 17-21. *King. Stand vp you simple men, and giue God*

Enter . . . Queen] Queen Margaret does not speak in this scene, but perhaps she is introduced because she does in the *Contention* (6-8). Her remark has been already used in IV. iv. 40, 41 above, where the rebellion is at its height. At this stage (in the *Contention*) it is altogether misplaced. But the last words of the king ("Come, wife") show she is here.

1-5. *Was ever . . . Was never*] A favourite method with Spenser. See Introduction, Part I.

1. *joyed*] enjoyed. An archaic or rather poetic expression in Shakespeare's time. Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, ii. 10, 53:—

"and him succeeded Marius,
Who *joyd* his dayes in great tranquillity."

Peele uses it in the more active sense:—

"thy looks shalt be reliev'd,
And thou shalt *joy* her as thy soul desires"

(*David and Bethsabe* (466, a)).

13. *ope*] Shakespeare had a great affection for this old word, both verb and adjective. He has it about forty times. Spenser has it once (at least) later in *Faerie Queene*:—

To entertain my vows of thanks and praise!
Soldiers, this day have you redeemed your lives,
And showed how well you love your prince and country:
Continue still in this so good a mind,
And Henry, though he be infortunate,
Assure yourselves, will never be unkind:
And so, with thanks and pardon to you all,
I do dismiss you to your several countries.

All. God save the king! God save the king!

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Please it your grace to be advertised

praise, For you did take in hand you know not what, And go in peace obedient to your King, And liue as subiects, and you shall not want, Whilst Henry liues, and weares the English Crowne. 22. *All. God . . . king!*] 22-26. *All. God . . . king. King. Come let us hast to London now with speed, That solemne prosessions may be sung, In laud and honour of the God of heauen, And triumphs of this happie victorie. Exet omnes.* 23-49. *Messenger. Please it . . . wretched reign*] omitted Q.

"did softly smite the raile
Which straight flew *ope*"

(iv. iii. 46). And Peele has the verb once:—

"*Ope*, earth, and take thy miserable son
Into the bowels of thy cursed womb"

(*David and Bethsabe* (480, b)). But it is nowhere in such demand as in Shakespeare, and I suppose this is an argument in favour of placing this wretched speech to his discredit, especially with the piety evinced by the king. Kyd uses the verb "to ope" three times in *Cornelia*, and he has "break ope" for "break open," there, and in *Spanish Tragedy*. Both were archaic and also Biblical. In the old *Te Deum* of Steinhold and Hopkins (1570?) occurs: "Thou heavens kingdom didst set *ope*."

14. *To entertain my vows*] to receive them favourably, to give them a home. Compare Peele, *Speeches at Theobalds* (1591):—

"Then, having many days with sacred rites
Prepared myself *to entertain* good thoughts"

(577, b). A common use. In the speech in the *Contention*, the king begins with "God's will be done" when he hears of Say's murder. At III. i. 33 (III. i. 86 above) in the *Contention* he says the same when Somerset announces the loss of those towns in France. Hence the omission here. Somerset is an unlucky envoy.

16. *You know not what*] In Q. See above, ii. 151.

16. *take in hand*] In this speech in the *Contention*. Occurs in *Lucrece*, 1235. And in *Faerie Queene*, I. ii. 36:—

"Whose forged beauty he did *take in hand*
All other Dames to have exceeded far."

Make it one's business.

18. *infortunate*] Only here and in *King John*, II. i. 178. And twice in *Othello* doubtfully. A favourite word with Greene (from *Euphues*), who never, I think, uses "unfortunate." Compare the modern and inharmonious "infrequent." There is no rule.

20. *pardon to you all*] See note at Scene x. 1.

22. *prosessions*] in the king's speech here (*Contention*) illustrates, or is illustrated by, "Shall in *procession* sing her endless praise," Part I. I. vi. 20. Litanies. See Puttenham (Arber, p. 61): "Our generall *processions* or Letanies, with bankets."

23. *advertised*] informed. See *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 116; IV. v. 9; and v. iii. 18. And elsewhere in Shakespeare, who seems to have had a free hand to this scene's end.

And ask him what 's the reason of these arms.
The Duke of York is newly come from Ireland,
And with a puissant and a mighty power
Of gallowglasses and stout kerns
Is marching hitherward in proud array;
And still proclaimeth, as he comes along,
His arms are only to remove from thee
The Duke of Somerset, whom he terms a traitor.

King. Thus stands my state, 'twixt Cade and York distressed;
Like to a ship that, having 'scaped a tempest,
Is straightway calmed, and boarded with a pirate.
But now is Cade driven back, his men dispersed,
And now is York in arms to second him.
I pray thee, Buckingham, go and meet him,

24. *York . . . from Ireland*] See note, III. i. 309, 310.

26. *gallowglasses and stout kerns*] See note, III. i. 310.

28-30. *still proclaimeth . . . to remove . . . Somerset*] York's return from Ireland was in September, 1450. He says below (v. i. 61, 62) he came to heave out Somerset and fight Cade. The latter part was rendered unnecessary by Cade's discomfiture before his arrival. But the purpose about Somerset was not declared until the XXX. year—nearly two years later. Moreover, York declared himself against Somerset, at the head of an army in London, a second time, Somerset having been again released; and it is this latter event that fits in with the thread of the story in the play, though entirely out of place with regard to Cade. Grafton says (Hall, p. 231): "amongest all imaginations, one seemed most necessarye for his purpose, which yet againe was . . . against the Duke of Somerset, who only ruled the king . . . the Duke . . . chieflye entertayned two Richardes, and both Neuelles, the one of Salisburye, the other of Werwike beyng Erles, the first the father, the second the son . . . Salisburie was second sonne to Raufe Neuell, Erle of Westmerland, whose daughter the Duke of Yorke had maried . . . Richarde the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire blood to Lorde Henry Beauchampe . . . after Duke of Warwike . . . in whose right and tytle he was created and named Erle of Warwike, and not by hys awne progeny or parentage . . . When the Duke of Yorke had fastened his Chaine betweene these two strong pillers, he . . . so politiquely handled his businesse, that the Duke of Somerset was arrested in the Quenes great Chamber, and sent to the Towre of London . . . it was put in suspence . . . by the Queenes procurement . . . set at liberty; by which doyng grew great envy . . . The Duke of Yorke . . . determined to reuenge their quarrell, and obteyne their purpose by open warre and Marciall adventure . . . gathered a great power, and . . . marched toward London" (Grafton, 652, 653). It was by the above marriage that Warwick obtained the right to the badge of the bear and ragged staff.

32. *Like to a ship*] A remembering of Spenser. See *Faerie Queene*, I. vi. 1; v. ii. 50; VI. iv. 1; VI. xii. 1. Spenser's ships usually escape without ever a pirate. An old simile. "Like as a gally" in Golding's *Ovid;* Spenser's introduction is "As when" or "Like as" generally. For a highly elaborated parallel, see the queen's speech before Tewksbury (Part III. v. iv.) at her final wreck.

33. *calmed*] becalmed, as in *Othello*, I. i. 30. "With" means "by," as it often does in Shakespeare.

33. *pirate*] A similar intervention by pirates is used illustratively in *Richard III.* I. iii. 158. Shakespeare often uses pirates as an adjunct in his poetry, specifying their names even as above at IV. i. 108; and *Measure for Measure*, IV. iii. 75; and *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. iv. 48; and *Pericles*, IV. i. 97.

Tell him I 'll send Duke Edmund to the Tower;
And, Somerset, we will commit thee thither,
Until his army be dismissed from him.
Som. My lord,
I 'll yield myself to prison willingly,
Or unto death, to do my country good.
King. In any case, be not too rough in terms,
For he is fierce and cannot brook hard language.
Buck. I will, my lord; and doubt not so to deal
As all things shall redound unto your good.
King. Come, wife, let 's in, and learn to govern better;
For yet may England curse my wretched reign.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE X.—*Kent. Iden's Garden.*

Enter CADE.

Cade. Fie on ambition! fie on myself, that have a sword, and yet am ready to famish! These five days have

Enter Cade] *Enter Iacke Cade at one doore, and at the other, maister Alexander Eyden and his men, and Iack Cade lies downe picking of hearbes and eating them.* 1-15. *Cade. Fie on ambition . . . feed on*] omitted Q.

44. *terms*] words, language.

47. *redound*] result, conduce. Not in Shakespeare elsewhere.

48. *Come, wife*] The King is very lenient and forgiving after Scene iv., where he last spoke to her as "Madame," and "Margaret," with Suffolk's head on her lap. But earlier (in the *Contention*) she was "my love" (where she boxed Duchess Gloucester's ears).

Scene x.

Enter Cade] The *Contention* stage-direction is much more realistic. Grafton says (after London bridge and Saint Magnus corner): "both parties beyng faynt, werie and fatigate, agreed to desist from fight . . . the lustie Kentish Capitayne . . . brake up the gaytes. . . . The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, beyng then Chauncellor of England . . . called to him [to Tower] the Byshop of Wynchester. . . . These two prelates . . . passed the ryuer of Thames from the Towre into Southwarke bringing with them vnder the kings great seale a generall pardon . . . openly proclamed and published. Lorde, how glad the people were of this pardon (ye more then of the greate Iubile of Rome) . . . the whole multitude, without bydding farewell to their Capitaine, retired the same night. . . . But Iohn Cade desperate of succours, (which by the friends of the Duke of Yorke were to him promised) . . . mistrusting the sequele of the matter, departed secretly in habite disguysed, into Sussex; but all his Metamorphosis or transfiguration little preuayled, for after a proclamation made, that whosoeuer could apprehend the sayde Iack Cade, should haue for his paine a thousand Markes, many sought for hym, but fewe espied hym, till one Alexander Iden Esquire of Kent, founde him in a garden, and there in his defence manfully slue the caytife Cade, and brought his dead bodie to London, whose head was set on London bridge. Thys is the ende of all rebelles . . . where men stryve agaynst the streame, their bote neuer commeth to his pretensed porte" (Grafton, p. 643). Ritson quotes *W. Wyrcester*, p. 472: "This Iden was, in fact, the new Sheriff of Kent, who had followed Cade from Rochester." I do not find this verified by Stone. Holinshed is not followed here.

I hid me in these woods and durst not peep out, for all the country is laid for me; but now am I so hungry, that if I might have a lease of my life for a thousand years I could stay no longer. Wherefore, on a brick wall have I climbed into this garden, to see if I can eat grass, or pick a sallet another while, which is not amiss to cool a man's stomach this hot weather. And I think this word sallet was born to do me good: for many a time, but for a sallet, my brain-pan had been cleft with a brown bill; and many a time, when I have been dry and bravely marching, it hath served me instead of a quart-pot to drink in; and now the word sallet must serve me to feed on.

Enter IDEN.

Iden. Lord! who would live turmoiled in the court,
And may enjoy such quiet walks as these?
This small inheritance my father left me
Contenteth me, and worth a monarchy.

16-23. *Iden. Lord! who . . . my gate*] 1-5. *Eyden. Good Lord, how pleasant is this country life, This litle land my father left me here, With my contented minde serues me as well, As all the pleasures in the Court can yeeld, Nor would I change this pleasure for the Court.*

4. *all the country is laid for me*] warrants and watches issued and sent out. Compare Jasper Mayne, *The City Match:* "The *country has been laid* and warrants granted to apprehend him"; and Tomkins' *Albumazar*, v. ix. (Dodsley, xi. 417): "Lose not your patience too. Leave this lamenting And *lay the town;* you may recover it"; and *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i.:—

"that he may not scape,
Weele *lay* the ports and havens round about."

The full expression, "laid watches that," occurs at the beginning of Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, 1543. And later (p. 530): "in everie coaste and corner of the realme laied wondrefull wayte and watche to take . . . the said duke."

8. *pick a sallet*] "like an unthankefull Hackney-man, she meant to tourne him into the bare leas, and set him as a tyrde iade to *picke a sallet*" (Greene, *Never Too Late* (Grosart, viii. 102), 1590). And Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (Grosart, ii. 71): "Good thriftie men, they drawe out a dinner with *sallets*, like a Swart-rutter's sute." Here is, I suppose, the quibble on the swart-rutter's helmet. Craig gives an early example of the pun from *Thersites* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, i. 399). Not in the *Contention*. The word occurs in North's *Plutarch*. Brutus has a drink from a sallet (Steevens). But Shakespeare took the word, and the incident of Cade's wearing one, from Fabyan (1516). See note at Scene iii. l. 11, above.

12. *brown bill*] Again only in *King Lear*, IV. vi. 92. The arm (preserved in "bill-hook") carried by watchmen and constables among others. Compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. iii. 44. And *Pappe with an Hatchet*, 1588, 1589: "We challenge him at all weapons, from the taylors bodkin to the watchman's *browne bil*" (reprint, p. 68). And in Golding's *Ovid*, v. 97: "in his hand did holde A brode *browne Byll*."

16. *turmoiled*] worried. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, vii. 152, 153: "their boyling brests *Turmoyling* with the firie flames enclosed in their chests."

19. *Contenteth . . . monarchy*] See note at "My crown is called *content*," *3 Henry VI.* III. i. 64.

I seek not to wax great by others' waning,
Or gather wealth I care not with what envy:
Sufficeth that I have maintains my state,
And sends the poor well pleased from my gate.

Cade. Here 's the lord of the soil come to seize me for a stray, for entering his fee-simple without leave. Ah, villain, thou wilt betray me, and get a thousand crowns of the king by carrying my head to him; but I 'll make thee eat iron like an ostrich, and swallow my sword like a great pin, ere thou and I part.

Iden. Why, rude companion, whatsoe'er thou be,
I know thee not; why then should I betray thee?
Is 't not enough to break into my garden,
And like a thief to come to rob my grounds,
Climbing my walls in spite of me the owner,
But thou wilt brave me with these saucy terms?

Cade. Brave thee! ay, by the best blood that ever was broached, and beard thee too. Look on me well: I have eat no meat these five days; yet, come thou

24-29. *Cade. Here 's . . . soil come . . . Ah, villain . . . me and crowns . . . I 'll make . . . pin . . . part*] 6-9. *Cade. Sounes, heres . . . soyle, Stand villaine . . . me to the King, and . . . crownes for my head, but ere thou goest ile make . . . pinne.* 30-35. *Why rude . . . saucy terms*] 10-13. *Why sawcy companion, why should I betray thee? Ist not inough that thou hast broke my hedges, And enterd into my ground without the leaue of me the owner, But thou wilt braue me too.* 36-41. *Brave thee! . . . too. Look on . . . yet, come . . . as dead . . . more*] 14-17. *Braue thee and beard thee too, by the best blood of the Realme, looke on . . . yet and I do not leaue thee and thy fiue men as dead . . . more* (read *this five dayes*).

20. *wax . . . waning*] Compare Sylvester, *Du Bartas* (Fourth Day), (p. 88, edited 1621): "Thus dost thou *wex and wane*" (to the Moon), 1591. Iden's speech here is not much altered from Peele's (as I think) in the *Contention*. Peele is constantly dwelling on sweet content and solace. So also was poor Greene. The Folio here reads "warning." Rowe corrected.

23. *well pleased*] Occurs before, I. i. 218, but not again in Shakespeare. Frequent in the Bible, as is the sentiment in the line. Compare *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 381):—

"England is grown to such a pass of late,
That rich men triumph to see the poor beg at their gate."

24. *lord of the soil*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare.

25. *stray*] vagrant, vagabond, "masterless man."

28. *eat iron like an ostrich*] Earlier in Lyly's *Pappe with an Hatchet* (Saintsbury's reprint, 1892, p. 54), 1588-1589: "His conscience hath a colde stomacke. Cold? Thou art deceived, 'twil digest a cathedral church as easilie as an Estriche a two-penie naile." And in Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (Grosart, ii. 236): "The Oestridge can deuoure the rust of Iron." Later, in Marston, Satire i.; and Ben Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, III. i.

30. *companion*] common fellow, in a bad sense, often in Shakespeare. So in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, III. ii. 115: "better its that base *companions* dye." "Panion," in this sense, is older; a contraction.

35. *saucy*] See note in Part I. III. i. 45, and III. iv. 33. A favourite word.

37. *broached*] shed (of blood). See Part I. III. iv. 40; and Part III. II. iii. 16.

37. *beard*] defy to face. Compare Part I. I. iii. 44, 45; and *1 Henry IV.* IV. i. 12.

and thy five men, and if I do not leave you all as dead as a door-nail, I pray God I may never eat grass more.

Iden. Nay, it shall ne'er be said, while England stands,
That Alexander Iden, an esquire of Kent,
Took odds to combat a poor famished man.
Oppose thy steadfast-gazing eyes to mine,
See if thou canst outface me with thy looks:
Set limb to limb, and thou art far the lesser;
Thy hand is but a finger to my fist;
Thy leg a stick compared with this truncheon;
My foot shall fight with all the strength thou hast;
And if mine arm be heaved in the air
Thy grave is digged already in the earth.
As for words, whose greatness answers words,
Let this my sword report what speech forbears.

Cade. By my valour, the most complete champion that ever I heard! Steel, if thou turn the edge, or cut not out the burly-boned clown in chines of beef ere thou

42-44. *Nay . . . stands, that . . . combat . . . man*] 18-20. *Nay, it neuer shall be saide whilst the world doth stand, that . . . combat with a famisht man.* 45-54. *Oppose thy . . . forbears*] 20($\frac{1}{2}$)-22. *looke on me, my limmes are equall vnto thine, and euery way as big, then hand to hand, ile combat thee. Sirrha fetch me weopons and stand you all aside* (prose, verse Q 3). 55-59. *By my . . . hob-*

40. *as dead as a door-nail*] Compare *2 Henry IV.* v. iii. 127: "Is the old king *dead? . . . As nail in door.*" An ancient saying revived. See Skeat's editions of *Piers the Plowman* and *William of Palerne* (*circa* 1350), where it is sometimes "door-tree." In Nashe's *Strange News* (Grosart, ii. 180), 1593, etc. etc. From the continual hammering upon it, in shutting and in knocking (?).

44. *odds*] advantage.

45. *steadfast-gazing*] Compare "still-gazing," *Lucrece*, 84.

46. *outface*] Often in Shakespeare, from *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 626, onwards.

50. *hand to hand*] See note at *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 73. It is in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, but earlier examples could be quoted. Here it is omitted.

51. *arm . . . heaved*] See note above, I. ii. 13. Generally used in this connection with "up," as in *Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 14: "His heavie hand he *heaved up* on hye." Peele has "*Heave up* your swords" in *Battle of Alcazar*, following Spenser. The sentiment here is tersely put by Sidney, *Arcadia*, bk. ii.: "His arm seemed still a postillion of death."

53, 54. *words . . . sword*] See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. i. 44, for these words in opposition; and note, Arden edition, p. 113. And in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. I. i.: "Thy *words* are *swords*." And add to the references, Gosson, *School of Abuse* (Arber, pp. 49, 52). Spenser illustrates here: "He never meant with *words*, but *swords*, to plead his right" (*Faerie Queene*, I. iv. 42).

57. *burly-boned*] Nashe uses this word figuratively in *Almond for a Parrot*, 1589. It is a term affected by Nashe: "The Danes, who stand so much upon their unweldy *burli-boand* souldiery, that they account of no man that hath not a battle Axe at his girdle to hough dogs with" (*Pierce Penilesse* (Grosart, ii. 39), 1592). See "hough" above in the *Contention*, vii. 124 (note). Neither of these terms are in Shakespeare elsewhere. See "big-boned" at v. iii. 1-10 in Part III.

57. *chines of beef*] Compare Peele, *Old Wives Tale* (450, a): "Enter a Friar with a *chine of beef* and a pot of wine"; and again (in the text): "A *chine of English beef*, meat for a king" (*ibid.*). And Nashe, *Foure Letters*

sleep in thy sheath, I beseech God on my knees thou mayest be turned to hobnails.

[*Here they fight. Cade falls.*

O, I am slain! Famine and no other hath slain me: let ten thousand devils come against me, and give me but the ten meals I have lost, and I 'd defy them all. Wither, garden; and be henceforth a burying-place to all that do dwell in this house, because the unconquered soul of Cade is fled.

Iden. Is 't Cade that I have slain, that monstrous traitor?
Sword, I will hallow thee for this thy deed,
And hang thee o'er my tomb when I am dead:
Ne'er shall this blood be wiped from thy point,
But thou shalt wear it as a herald's coat,
To emblaze the honour that thy master got.

nails] 23-26. *Now sword, if thou doest not hew this burlybond churle into chines of beefe I beseech God thou maist fall into some smiths hand, and be turnd to hobnailes. Eyden. Come on thy way.* (*They fight & Cade fals downe.*) 60-65. *O, I am slain! . . . Cade is fled*] 27-31. *Oh villaine, thou hast slain the floure of Kent for chiualrie, but it is famine & not thee that has done it; for come ten thousand diuels, and giue me but the ten meales that I wanted this fiue daies, and ile fight with you all, and so a poxe rot thee, for Iacke Cade must die. He dies.* 66-71. *Is't Cade . . . master got*] 32-36. *Iack Cade, & was it that monstrous Rebell which I haue slaine. Oh sword ile honour thee for this, and in my chamber shalt thou hang as a monument to after age, for this great seruice thou hast done to me. Ile drag him hence, and with my sword cut off his head, and beare it* (prose, verse Q 3) *Exet.*

Confuted (Grosart, ii. 194): "Lies as big as one of the Guardes *chynes of beefe*" (1593).

59. *hobnails*] Another word of Nashe's: "Soales, as full of the *hobnayles* of repression [? reprehension] as they could strike" (*Foure Letters Confuted* (To the Gentlemen Readers), ii. 187). Nashe has the word several times later. Shakespeare uses it later in *1 Henry IV*. See Introduction to *Love's Labour 's Lost*. The above group of Nashe words all belong to the *Contention*.

60. *I am slain*] Note the poetic flight in Cade's prose speech here. It is transported bodily into Part III. II. i. 70, 71; and "hand to hand" (l. 50, above in *Contention*) goes with it. Neither are in *True Tragedy*. These interlacements, so often occurring, make one feel there is a Primus Motor all through. The phrase is in Grafton, and earlier in Hawes, etc.

64. *unconquered*] Again in Part I. IV. ii. 32; and *Lucrece*, 408. Not in *Contention*. Compare Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. IV. iii.: "this *unconquer'd* arm of mine." And see a repeated line in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. V. iii.: "And shall I die and this *unconquered?*"

67. *Sword, I will hallow thee*] Compare *Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. ii. 216; and note, Arden edition, p. 177. Compare *Notes Upon Russia*, trans. from Baron Herberstein by R. H. Major (Hakluyt Society, 1852, ii. 25), *circa* 1530: "The merchants of that place [Novorogod] earnestly begged me, after I had travelled thither from Augsburg in one and the same carriage, to leave them the vehicle in which I had accomplished so great a journey that they might place it in their church." Of weapons, the custom is of classical antiquity:—

"I late ago in Junos Church at Argos did behold
And knew the target which I [Numa] in my left hand there did hold"

(Golding's *Ovid*, xv. 181, 182). The sentiment here is much exalted from that in the *Contention*.

71. *emblaze*] describe or depict heraldi-

Cade. Iden, farewell; and be proud of thy victory. Tell
Kent from me, she hath lost her best man, and exhort
all the world to be cowards; for I, that never feared
any, am vanquished by famine, not by valour. [*Dies.*
Iden. How much thou wrong'st me, heaven be my judge.
Die, damned wretch, the curse of her that bare thee!
And as I thrust thy body in with my sword,
So wish I I might thrust thy soul to hell.
Hence will I drag thee headlong by the heels
Unto a dunghill which shall be thy grave,
And there cut off thy most ungracious head;
Which I will bear in triumph to the king,
Leaving thy trunk for crows to feed upon. [*Exit.*

76-84. *Iden. How much . . . feed upon*] omitted Q.

cally. Greene uses the word often. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes him from *Orlando Furioso* in a slightly differing sense. But compare *Penelopes Web* (Grosart, v. 142), 1587: "tyme the Heralt that best *emblazeth* affections."

79. *soul to hell*] This abominable speech has no parallel in Q. One might import Marlowe here, sooner than leave it to Shakespeare. When the Mayor stabs Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 406, 407), he uses similar language, calling him a "dunghill bastard born." Outside these plays, and *Titus Andronicus* in several places, compare *Twelfth Night*, III. iv. 237; *King John*, I. i. 272, etc., and:—

"Drag this accursed villain through
the streets
To strike a terror to the rebels
hearts."

See IV. ii. 122, 123, and note.

80. *headlong*] head foremost (but horizontally). Compare Kyd's *Cornelia:* "*Headlong* to runne and reck no after harmes." Elsewhere in Shakespeare's plays it has the sense of down, or down from.

84. *trunk*] See next note.

84. *crows to feed upon*] Compare Peele, *Edward I.* (406, a): "thou mayst Hang in the air for fowls *to feed upon.*" And *Old Wives Tale* (452, b):—

"Away with him into the open fields,
To be a ravening prey to crows and
kites."

I believe that Peele wrote Scene x. in *Contention;* and that Shakespeare altered it with his (Peele's) help and some of his additions. It is noticeable, and evidence of a set purpose, that Cade's prose is made tamer, as a foil to Iden's verse which is constant here (but not in *Contention*) and greatly dignified. But compare also Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. II. iii.:—

"We will both watch and ward shall
keep his trunk
Amidst these plains for fowls *to*
prey upon."

ACT V

SCENE I.—*Fields between Dartford and Blackheath.*

Enter YORK *and his army of Irish, with drum and colours.*

York. From Ireland thus comes York to claim his right,
And pluck the crown from feeble Henry's head:
Ring, bells, aloud; burn, bonfires, clear and bright,
To entertain great England's lawful king.
Ah! sancta majestas, who would not buy thee dear?
Let them obey that know not how to rule;
This hand was made to handle nought but gold:
I cannot give due action to my words,
Except a sword or sceptre balance it.
A sceptre shall it have, have I a soul,
On which I 'll toss the flower-de-luce of France.

Enter BUCKINGHAM.

Whom have we here? Buckingham, to disturb me?
The king hath sent him, sure: I must dissemble.
Buck. York, if thou meanest well, I greet thee well.

Enter . . .] *Enter the Duke of Yorke with drum and souldiers.* 1, 2. *Yorke. From . . . head*] 1. *Yorke. In Armes from Ireland comes Yorke amain.* 3-5. *Ring . . . bright To . . . lawful . . . dear*] 2-4. *Ring belles aloud, bonfires perfume the ayre, To . . . royall . . . dear?* 6-11. *Let them obey . . . France*] omitted Q. 12, 13. *Enter Buckingham. Whom have . . . dissemble*] 5. *Enter the Duke of Buckingham. But soft, who comes here, Buckingham, what newes with him?* 14. *Buck. Yorke, . . . meanest . . . well*] 6. *Buc. Yorke, . . . meane . . . so.*

1. *From Ireland thus comes York*] See note at IV. ix. 28.

3. *bells . . . bonfires*] See Part I. I. vi. 10, 11, note.

5. *sancta majestas*] Capell conjectured "santa maesta," as being nearer Q. Pope read "majesty" (alone) for harmony's sake. These first five lines are practically adopted from *Contention*, where Peele's hand in the scene is evident, to the entrance of the Queen. Peele's favourite "amain" is omitted.

11. *toss . . . flower-de-luce*] bear triumphantly. Compare *1 Henry IV.* IV. ii. 71, and *3 Henry VI.* I. i. 244. For "flower-de-luce," see Part I. I. i. 80, and I. ii. 99. So in *Edward the Third*, i. 70: "Dare he already crop the *flower-de-luce?*"; and again:—

"a lion, roused in the west
Shall carry hence the *flower-de-luce* of France"

(III. ii. 42, 43).

York. Humphrey of Buckingham, I accept thy greeting.
Art thou a messenger, or come of pleasure?
Buck. A messenger from Henry, our dread liege,
To know the reason of these arms in peace;
Or why thou, being a subject as I am,
Against thy oath and true allegiance sworn,
Should'st raise so great a power without his leave,
Or dare to bring thy force so near the court.
York. [*Aside.*] Scarce can I speak, my choler is so great:
O, I could hew up rocks and fight with flint,
I am so angry at these abject terms;
And now, like Ajax Telamonius,
On sheep or oxen could I spend my fury.
I am far better born than is the king,
More like a king, more kingly in my thoughts;
But I must make fair weather yet awhile,

15, 16. *York. Humphrey . . . I . . . pleasure*] 7, 8. *Humphrey . . . welcome I sweare; What comes thou in loue or as a Messenger?* 17-19. *A messenger . . . To . . . why thou . . . am*] 9-11. *I come as a Messenger from our dread Lord and soueraign Henry. To . . . that thou . . . am.* 20-22. *Against . . . court*] *Shouldst thus approach so neare with colours spred, Whereas the person of the King doth keepe?* 23-37. *Scarce can I speak . . . to the state*] 14-23. *A subiect as he is. O how I hate these spiteful abiect termes, But York dissemble, till thou meete thy sonnes Who now in Armes expect their fathers sight.*

22. *near the court*] The wretched line, "Whereas the person of the king doth keep," was naturally cut out. It would be almost worth while to count how many whereases are expunged from the *Contention*, in its old sense of where, so common in Spenser and Peele. With the meaning "at which place" it is scarcely found in Shakespeare's genuine work.

26. *like Ajax Telamonius*] See *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 7. Ajax, son of Telamon, destroyed a flock of sheep, in a fit of blind fury, believing them to be his enemies, after Ulysses was awarded Achilles' arms in preference to himself. He then committed suicide. The only contemporary account I know is in Harington's *Metamorphoses* (1596): "First he killed all the horned beasts he met, which made Agamemnon and Menelaus now more afraid than Ulysses; whereupon he was banished the towns presently, and then he went to the woods and pastures, and imagining all the fat sheep he met to be of kin to the coward Ulysses, because they ran away from him, he massacred a whole flock of sheep not ewes. Last of all, having nobody else to kill, poor man killed himself" (p. 2, Chiswick reprint). For another parallel passage to Harington's book, see again *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 570. Both passages are noted upon in the Arden edition. This event is not touched upon in Ovid's account in the *Metamorphoses;* where Ajax is credited with immediate self-destruction. It is taken from the Ajax of Sophocles. A play named "Ajax and Ulysses" was "showen on New yeares daie at nighte by the Chyldren of Wynsor" (1571-72) (Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts*, Shaks. Soc. p. 13). Kyd refers to some such performance probably in *Spanish Tragedy*, IV. iv. 80 (Boas):—

> "we doo as all Tragedians doo:
> To die to-day for fashioning our Scene . . .
> The death of Ajax or some Romaine peere . . ."

30. *make fair weather*] go with the times. See again *Much Ado About Nothing*, I. iii. 25. And allusively perhaps in *Richard II.* III. iii. 161 and *Henry VIII.* I. iv. 22. Compare Heywood's *Proverbs*, 1546 (Sharman's

Till Henry be more weak, and I more strong.
O Buckingham, I prithee, pardon me,
That I have given no answer all this while;
My mind was troubled with deep melancholy.
The cause why I have brought this army hither
Is to remove proud Somerset from the king,
Seditious to his grace and to the state.

Buck. That is too much presumption on thy part:
But if thy arms be to no other end,
The king hath yielded unto thy demand:
The Duke of Somerset is in the Tower.

York. Upon thine honour, is he prisoner?

Buck. Upon mine honour, he is prisoner.

York. Then, Buckingham, I do dismiss my powers.
Soldiers, I thank you all; disperse yourselves:
Meet me to-morrow in Saint George's field,

And not farre hence I know they cannot be. Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, pardon me, That I answerde not at first, my mind was troubled, I came to remoue that monstrous Rebell Cade, And heaue proud Somerset from out the Court, That basely yielded vp the Townes in France. 38-41. *That is . . . Tower*] 24-27. *Why that was presumption on thy behalfe, But if it be no otherwise but so, The king doth pardon thee, and grantst to thy request, And Somerset is sent unto the Tower.* 42. *Upon . . . he prisoner*] 28. *Vpon . . . it so?* 43. *Upon . . . prisoner*] 29. *Yorke, he is upon mine honour.* 44-47. *Then, Buckingham . . . Meet . . . field . . . wish*] 30-32. *Then before thy face, I here dismisse my*

edition, p. 114): "They can currifavell and *make fayre wether*." And North's *Plutarch*, Themistocles (Tudor Trans. i. 318): "So *make fayre weather* again with the governour." And in Lodge, *Euphues Golden Legacy* (Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*, p. 96), 1590.

36. *Somerset*] "that basely yielded up the towns in France" is omitted as a charge against Somerset here, seeing that Say has been twice charged with this in Scene vii. above (lines 23, 141). In I. i. 135 it is a charge against Gloucester. "A staff is quickly found," etc.

46. *Saint George's field*] Mentioned again in *2 Henry IV.* III. ii. 207. "An open space of great extent, on the Surrey side of the Thames, lying between Southwark and Lambeth, and so called from the adjoining church of St. George the Martyr in Southwark" (Cunningham and Wheatley's *London Past and Present*); where plenty of information is given, but a few additional references may be cited. It was one of the chief drill-grounds for the trained bands. Heywood says:—

"When I was young like him,
I had my words and foynes and quarter blows
And knew my way into *St. George's fields*,
Twice in a morning, Tuttle, Finsbury,
I knew them all"

(*Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, Pearson, vol. i. p. 330). In Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, (I. 296) in 1572: "On the five and twentieth and six and twentieth of March, 1572, by the commandement of the Queen's Maiestie hir Councell, the Citizens of London assembling at their several Halles; the Maisters collected and chose out the most likelie and active persons of everie their Companies, to the number of three thousand. . . . To these were appointed diverse valiant Captains, who, to traine them up in warlike feats mustered them thrise every weeke, sometimes in the Artillerie Yard, teaching the gunmen to handle their peaces, sometimes at the Mile's end, and in Saint George's Field, teaching them to skirmish." A proper trysting place for York to meet his soldiery.

You shall have pay, and every thing you wish.
And let my sovereign, virtuous Henry,
Command my eldest son, nay, all my sons,
As pledges of my fealty and love;
I 'll send them all as willing as I live:
Lands, goods, horse, armour, any thing I have,
Is his to use, so Somerset may die.

Buck. York, I commend this kind submission:
We twain will go into his highness' tent.

Enter KING *and Attendants.*

King. Buckingham, doth York intend no harm to us,
That thus he marcheth with thee arm in arm?

York. In all submission and humility
York doth present himself unto your highness.

King. Then what intend these forces thou dost bring?

York. To heave the traitor Somerset from hence,
And fight against that monstrous rebel, Cade,
Who since I heard to be discomfited.

Enter IDEN, *with* CADE'S *head.*

Iden. If one so rude and of so mean condition
May pass into the presence of a king,
Lo! I present your grace a traitor's head,
The head of Cade, whom I in combat slew.

King. The head of Cade! Great God, how just art Thou!

troopes, Sirs, meete . . . fields, And there you shall receiue your paie of me. Exet souldiers. 48-53. *And let . . . may die*] omitted Q. 54, 55. *York . . . tent*] 33, 34. *Come Yorke, thou shalt go speake vnto the king, But see, his grace is comming to meete with vs. Enter King Henry.* 56, 57. *Buckingham . . . arm in arm?*] 35, 36. *How now Buckingham, is Yorke friends with vs, That thus thou bringst him hand in hand with thee?* 58-63. *York. In all submission . . . discomfited*] 37-43. *Buc. He is my Lord, and hath dischargde his troopes Which came with him, but as your grace did say, To heaue the Duke of Somerset from hence* (line 61 below) *And to subdue the Rebels that were vp. King. Then welcome cousin Yorke, giue me thy hand, And thankes for thy great seruice done to vs, Against those traitorous Irish that rebeld. Enter maister Eyden with Iacke Cades head.* 64-67. *If one so . . . slew*] 44-47. *Long liue Henry in triumphant peace, Lo here my Lord vpon my bended knees, I here present the traitorous head of Cade That hand to hand in single fight I slue.* 68-71. *King. The head . . . slew him?*] 44-57. *King. First thanks to heauen, & next to thee my friend, That hast subdude that wicked traitor thus. O let me see that head that in his life, Did worke me and my land such cruell spight, A visage*

57. *arm in arm*] Only again in Part I. II. ii. 29. The *Contention's* "hand in hand" is much commoner in Shakespeare, but less suitable here. The expression "arm in arm" is as old as Chaucer's *Troilus*.

61. *heave . . . Somerset from hence*] See note IV. ix. 30 above. Compare Peele: "There to curse heaven and he that *heaves me hence*" (*Battle of Alcazar*, end of Act i. (425, b)). The expression "heave Somerset" occurs immediately above, in *Contention*, slightly varied. The repetition is obliterated here; "remove" replaces "heave" at line 36. See note at I. i. 167, where Peele's (?) repetitions in *Contention* are similarly handled.

O, let me view his visage, being dead,
That living wrought me such exceeding trouble.
Tell me, my friend, art thou the man that slew him?
Iden. I was, an 't like your majesty.
King. How art thou called, and what is thy degree?
Iden. Alexander Iden, that 's my name;
A poor esquire of Kent, that loves his king.
Buck. So please it you, my lord, 'twere not amiss
He were created knight for his good service.
King. Iden, kneel down. [*He kneels.*] Rise up a knight.
We give thee for reward a thousand marks;
And will that thou henceforth attend on us.
Iden. May Iden live to merit such a bounty,
And never live but true unto his liege.

sterne, cole blacke his curled locks, Deep trenched furrowes in his frowning brow, Presageth warlike humors in his life. Here take it hence and thou for thy reward, Shall be immediately created Knight. Kneele downe my friend, and tell me whats thy name? 72-78. *Iden. I was . . . king . . . kneel down*] omitted Q (see last line). 78-82. *Rise up . . . liege*] 58-67. *Eyden. Alexander Eyden if it please your Grace, A poore Esquire of Kent* (see 74, 75). *King. Then rise up Sir Alexander Eyden knight, And for thy maintenance, I freely giue A thousand marks a yeare to maintaine thee, Beside the firme rewarde that was proclaimde,*

69. *visage*] The description of the "visage" in *Contention* recalls Marlowe, as well as Peele. Marlowe has in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. iii.:—

"And in the furrows of his frowning brows
Harbours revenge"

(Dyce, 47, a). And in *Edward the Second* (Dyce, 184, b):—

"The sword shall plane the furrows of thy brows,
And hew these knees."

It is not an expression of Shakespeare's. *Coal-black* is often in Peele. See note at II. i. 112 above. And in Part III. v. i. 54, "coal-black hair" occurs. Greene has "deeper furrowes in his browe," and "furrows of revenge Within the browes" (*Looking Glasse for London*, Grosart, xiv. 46, 57). But he is using Marlowe, and so, I think, is Peele in the *Contention* here. Compare Lamentations iv. 8: "Their *visage* is blacker than a coal." "Furrows of her clouding brow" is in *Soliman and Perseda*, I. ii.

78. *kneel down . . . rise up*] Similarly Peele (?) has the knighting scene of William Walworth for killing Jack Straw. The parallel is exact:—

"*Kneel down*, William Walworth, and receive,
By mine own hand the Order of Knighthood:
Stand up, Sir William, first knight of thy degree,
But henceforth all which shall succeed thy place,
Shall have like honour for thy noble deed.
Besides, that time shall ne'er abridge thy fame
The City arms shall bear for memory
The bloody dagger the more for Walworth's honour.
Call for your herald and receive your due"

(*Jack Straw*, Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 413). Peele dearly loved heraldry and the "Honour of Knighthood."

79. *marks*] A mark is a great improvement on a crown, 13s. 4d. against 5s. But in *Contention* the king is more liberal. He gives Iden an annuity of a thousand marks, besides the promised reward, and no doubt that line "Beside the firme reward that was proclaimed" should be inserted here. "Firm reward," in *Contention*, means fixed, decided upon. Spenser uses it as a verb: "Upon his card and compas firmes his eye" (*Faerie Queene*, II. vii. 1). The expression has occurred before at the murder of Gloucester (III. ii.).

King. See, Buckingham, Somerset comes with the queen:
Go, bid her hide him quickly from the duke.

Enter QUEEN *and* SOMERSET.

Queen. For thousand Yorks he shall not hide his head,
But boldly stand and front him to his face.
York. How now! is Somerset at liberty?
Then, York, unloose thy long-imprisoned thoughts
And let thy tongue be equal with thy heart.
Shall I endure the sight of Somerset?
False king! why hast thou broken faith with me,
Knowing how hardly I can brook abuse?
King did I call thee? no, thou art not king;
Not fit to govern and rule multitudes,
Which dar'st not, no, nor canst not rule a traitor.
That head of thine doth not become a crown;
Thy hand is made to grasp a palmer's staff,
And not to grace an awful princely sceptre.
That gold must round engirt these brows of mine,
Whose smile and frown, like to Achilles' spear,

For those that could performe this worthie act, And thou shalt waight upon the person of the king. Eyden. I humbly thank your grace, and I no longer liue, Then I proue iust and loyall to my king. Exet. Enter the Queene with the Duke of Somerset. 83, 84. *See, . . . duke*] 68, 69. *O Buckingham see where Somerset comes. Bid him go hide himselfe till Yorke be gone.* 85, 86. *For . . . face*] 70, 71. *He shall not hide himselfe for feare of Yorke, But beard and braue him proudly to his face.* 87-105. *How now! . . . ruler*] 72-81. *Whose that, proud Somerset at libertie? Base fearefull Henry that thou dishonor'st me, By heaven, thou shalt not gouerne ouer me: I cannot brooke that Traitors presence here, Nor will I subiect be to such a King That knowes not how to gouerne nor to rule, Resigne thy Crowne proud Lancaster to me, That thou vsurped hast so long by force, For now is Yorke resolu'd to claime his owne, And rise aloft into faire Englands Throane.*

87. *Somerset at libertie*] The only words in common with York's parallel speech in the *Contention*, which is very poor stuff. Shakespeare rewrote it to some purpose.

97. *palmer's staff*] Pilgrim's ebon staves are mentioned in *The Seven Champions*. This line and the following are paralleled in *Richard II.* III. iii. 151: "My sceptre for a *palmer's walking staff*." Peele, in the *Old Wives Tale*, mentions "a *palmer's staff* of ivory, and a scallop-shell of beaten gold" as a gift to a holy father.

99. *engirt*] See III. i. 200, note above. Marlowe has:—

"Or, like the snaky wreath of Tisiphon,
Engirt the temples of his hateful head"

(*Edward the First*, Dyce, 213, a).

100. *Achilles' spear*] Malone quotes from Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (*ante* 1592):—

"Where I tooke hurt, there have I heal'd myselfe,
As those that with *Achilles' launce* were wounded,
Fetcht help at selfesame poynted speare"

(Grosart, xiii. 139). Perhaps one of Greene's "feathers" here. I believe this part since Queen Margaret's entry to be Shakespeare's. Compare *Edward III.* II. i. 392, 393:—

"The poets write that great *Achilles' spear*
Could heal the wound it made."

Is able with the change to kill and cure.
Here is a hand to hold a sceptre up,
And with the same to act controlling laws.
Give place: by heaven, thou shalt rule no more
O'er him whom heaven created for thy ruler.
Som. O monstrous traitor! I arrest thee, York,
Of capital treason 'gainst the king and crown.
Obey, audacious traitor; kneel for grace.
York. Would'st have me kneel? first let me ask of these
If they can brook I bow a knee to man.
Sirrah, call in my sons to be my bail: [*Exit Attendant.*
I know ere they will have me go to ward,
They 'll pawn their swords for my enfranchisement.
Queen. Call hither Clifford; bid him come amain,
To say if that the bastard boys of York
Shall be the surety for their traitor father.
[*Exit Buckingham.*
York. O blood-bespotted Neapolitan,
Outcast of Naples, England's bloody scourge!
The sons of York, thy betters in their birth,
Shall be their father's bail; and bane to those
That for my surety will refuse the boys!

Enter EDWARD *and* RICHARD.

See where they come: I 'll warrant they 'll make it good.

Enter CLIFFORD *and his Son.*

Queen. And here comes Clifford, to deny their bail.
Clif. Health and all happiness to my lord the king! [*Kneels.*
York. I thank thee, Clifford: say, what news with thee?
Nay, do not fright us with an angry look:
We are thy sovereign, Clifford, kneel again;
For thy mistaking so, we pardon thee.

106-108. *O monstrous . . . grace*] 82-85. *Proud Traitor, I arrest thee on high treason, Against thy soueraigne Lord, yeeld thee false Yorke, For here I sweare, thou shalt unto the Tower, For these proud words which thou has giuen the king.* 109-113. *Wouldst . . . enfranchisement*] 86-88. *Thou art deceiued, my sonnes shal be my baile, And send thee there in dispight of him. Hoe, where are you boyes?* 114-116. *Call . . . father*] 89. *Call Clifford hither presently.* 117-121. *York. O blood-bespotted . . . boys!*] omitted Q. *Enter . . .*] *Enter the Duke of Yorkes sonnes, Edward the Earle of March and crook-backe Richard, at the one doore, with Drumme and soldiers, and at the other doore, enter Clifford and his sonne, with Drumme and souldiers, and Clifford kneeles to Henry, and speakes.* 122, 123. *See where . . . their bail*] omitted Q. 124. *Clif. Health . . . king!*] 90. *Cliff. Long liue my noble lord, and soueraigne King.* 125-128. *I thank . . . pardon thee*] 91-93. *We thanke thee Clifford. Nay do not affright vs with thy lookes, If thou didst mistake, we pardon thee, kneele againe.*

Clif. This is my king, York; I do not mistake;
But thou mistak'st me much to think I do.
To Bedlam with him! is the man grown mad?
King. Ay, Clifford; a bedlam and ambitious humour
Makes him oppose himself against his king.
Clif. He is a traitor; let him to the Tower,
And chop away that factious pate of his.
Queen. He is arrested, but will not obey:
His sons, he says, shall give their words for him.
York. Will you not, sons?
Edw. Ay, noble father, if our words will serve.
Rich. And if words will not, then our weapons shall.
Clif. Why, what a brood of traitors have we here!
York. Look in a glass, and call thy image so;
I am thy king, and thou a false-heart traitor.
Call hither to the stake my two brave bears,
That with the very shaking of their chains
They may astonish these fell-lurking curs:
Bid Salisbury and Warwick come to me.

Enter the Earls of WARWICK *and* SALISBURY.

Clif. Are these thy bears? we 'll bait thy bears to death,
And manacle the bear-ward in their chains,

129-131. *This is . . . mad*] 94, 95. *Why, I did no way mistake, this is my king. What is he mad? to Bedlam with him.* 132, 133. *Ay, Clifford . . . king*] 96, 97. *I, a bedlam frantike humor driues him thus To leauy Armes against his lawfull King.* 134, 135. *He . . . his*] 98. *Why doth not your grace send him to the Tower?* 136, 137. *He . . . says . . . him*] 99-100. *He . . . saith, shall be his baile.* 138. *Will . . . sons?*] 101. *How say you boyes, will you not?* 139. *Edw. Ay . . . serve*] 102. *Edward. Yes . . . serve.* 140. *Rich. And . . . shall*] 103. *Richard. And if our words will not, our swords shall.* 141-143. *Why what a brood . . . traitor*] omitted Q. 144. *Call . . . brave bears*] 104. *York. Call . . . rough beares.* 145-147. *That with . . . to me*] omitted Q. *Drums. Enter . . .*] placed after 194, *q.v.* 148-150. *Clif. Are these . . . baiting-place*] 108, 109. *Cliff. Are these thy beares? weele bayte them soone, Dispight of thee and all the friends thou hast.*

132. *bedlam*] See III. i. 5 (note). Ritson pointed out that there is no anachronism here from Stow, 1598, p. 127. The Hospitall of S. Mary of Bethlehem was founded by Simon Fitz Mary, 1246. Edward the Third granted a protection, the 14th year of his reign. "It was an hospitall for distracted people."

143. *false-heart*] "false-hearted" is in *Troilus and Cressida*, v. i. 95. *New Eng. Dict.* has no other instance of "false-heart."

146. *astonish*] terrify, frighten out of one's wits. Compare *Lucrece*, 1730. Frequent in Spenser (astond, astound, astonied, astynishd) in the sense of stun.

146. *fell-lurking*] A daring compound: fell-barking, fell-looking, fell-lurching have been conjectured. Capell would read "fell-lurking," which I should readily agree with except for Folios. "Fell, lurking curs" (cruel, treacherous curs) is more easy but perhaps mere modern. "Lurking" is used of treason in *Henry V.*, and of adders and serpents elsewhere.

148. *bait thy bears*] See note at "bears' chains," *3 Henry VI.* v. vii. 10, 11, and quotation from the *Faerie Queene.*

149. *bear-ward*] "beard" in the first

If thou dar'st bring them to the baiting-place.
Rich. Oft have I seen a hot o'erweening cur
Run back and bite, because he was withheld;
Who, being suffered with the bear's fell paw,
Hath clapped his tail between his legs and cried:
And such a piece of service will you do,
If you oppose yourselves to match Lord Warwick.
Clif. Hence, heap of wrath, foul indigested lump,
As crooked in thy manners as thy shape!
York. Nay, we shall heat you thoroughly anon.
Clif. Take heed, lest by your heat you burn yourselves.
King. Why, Warwick, hath thy knee forgot to bow?
Old Salisbury, shame to thy silver hair,
Thou mad misleader of thy brain-sick son!
What! wilt thou on thy death-bed play the ruffian,
And seek for sorrow with thy spectacles?
O! where is faith? O! where is loyalty?
If it be banished from the frosty head,
Where shall it find a harbour in the earth?
Wilt thou go dig a grave to find out war,
And shame thine honourable age with blood?
Why art thou old and want'st experience?
Or wherefore dost abuse it, if thou hast it?
For shame! in duty bend thy knee to me,

151-191. *Oft have I seen . . . sophister*] omitted Q.

two Folios. Corrected by Pope. Craig quotes from *Gammer Gurtons Needle*, I. ii. 6: "Sche were better to bee a *bearsward* and set to keepe bears"; in answer to Schmidt who reads "bear-herd" (which occurs in *The Taming of the Shrew* and *2 Henry IV.*) here, and throughout Shakespeare. For an account of bear-baiting, see Laneham's *Letter* (1575), describing the Queen's entertainments at Kenilworth.

151. *Oft have I seen . . .*] Richard begins at once with his tropes and figures, afterwards (Part III.) abundant, and gaining him the name of "currish Æsop."

153. *being suffered*] being made suffer, wounded.

157. *foul indigested lump*] Compare Ovid's "chaos, rudis indigestaque molis" (*Metamorphoses*, i. 7). The earliest example in *New Eng. Dict.* Compare Sonnet 114: "monsters and things *indigest*." And see *King John*, v. vii. 26. In W. Browne's *Britannias Pastorals* (bk. i., song 2):—

"Me thinkes a troubled thought is thus exprest
To be a chaos rude and *indigest*."

The source is obvious.

162. *silver hair*] For variants, beautifully expanded, see *2 Henry IV.* IV. i. 43, and below, v. ii. 47. And Sonnet 12, "silver beards" occurs several times.

163. *brain-sick*] See above, III. i. 51; and Part I. IV. i. 3 (note).

165. *spectacles*] See above, III. ii. 112. It may be excusable to call attention at this fine speech and well expressed imagery to the continual bettering of the Shakespearian parts. Henry's character, as well as the Queen's, is Shakespeare's throughout. Part I. is almost devoid of such poetry as this last act yields in Part II.

170. *honourable age*] "honourable eld" (*Faerie Queene*, I. viii. 47).

173. *For shame!*] be ashamed. Very often in Shakespeare. Is it old? Peele has it in *An Eclogue Gratulatory*, 1589 (Dyce, 562, b): "*For shame*, I say, give virtue honours due!"

That bows unto the grave with mickle age.
Sal. My lord, I have considered with myself
The title of this most renowned duke;
And in my conscience do repute his grace
The rightful heir to England's royal seat.
King. Hast thou not sworn allegiance unto me?
Sal. I have.
King. Canst thou dispense with heaven for such an oath?
Sal. It is great sin to swear unto a sin,
But greater sin to keep a sinful oath.
Who can be bound by any solemn vow
To do a murderous deed, to rob a man,
To force a spotless virgin's chastity,
To reave the orphan of his patrimony,
To wring the widow from her customed right,
And have no other reason for this wrong
But that he was bound by a solemn oath?
Queen. A subtle traitor needs no sophister.
King. Call Buckingham, and bid him arm himself.
York. Call Buckingham, and all the friends thou hast,
I am resolved for death or dignity.
Clif. The first I warrant thee, if dreams prove true.
War. You were best to go to bed and dream again,
To keep thee from the tempest of the field.
Clif. I am resolved to bear a greater storm

192. *King. Call . . . himself*] 105. *King. Call . . . himselfe.* 193, 194. *York. Call . . . hast, . . . dignity*] 106, 107. *Call . . . hast, Both thou and they, shall curse this fatall houre. Enter at one doore, the Earles of Salsbury and Warwicke, with Drumme and souldiers. And at the other, the Duke of Buckingham, with Drumme and souldiers.* 195. *Clif. The first . . . true*] omitted Q. 196, 197. *You . . . dream . . . thee . . . field*] 110, 111. *You had best go dreame . . . you . . . field.* 198-201. *Clif. I am . . . badge*] 112-115. *Cliff. I am . . . badge.*

174. *mickle age*] Has occurred already, Part I. IV. vi. 35 (note). "Mickle" occurs several times in Golding's *Ovid* and in the *Faerie Queene*. Greatly affected by Greene.

181. *dispense with*] make arrangements with, come to terms with. See *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 134, note in Arden edition.

187. *reave*] bereave. See *All's Well that Ends Well*, v. iii. 86, and *Venus and Adonis*, 766.

191. *sophister*] Not again in Shakespeare. Compare *Selimus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 226):—

"Why should it be vnlawfull for the sonne,
To leauie Armes gainst his iniurious sire?
Mustapho. You reason Hali like a *sophister;*
As if 'twere lawfull for a subiect prince
To rise in Armes against his soueraigne,
Because he will not let him haue his will."

See also *Mamillia* (ii. 17) and *Planetomachia* (v. 100). These interspersed sentences or maxims are frequent. See above, v. i. 5, and IV. i. 129, etc.; and below, v. ii. 28. Seneca's influence perhaps. Or rather a type-line, like "A crafty knave needs no broker."

194. *death or dignity*] Rowe's correction; the Folios read "and."

Than any thou canst conjure up to-day;
And that I 'll write upon thy burgonet,
Might I but know thee by thy household badge.
War. Now, by my father's badge, old Nevil's crest,
The rampant bear chained to the ragged staff,
This day I 'll wear aloft my burgonet,
As on a mountain top the cedar shows
That keeps his leaves in spite of any storm,
Even to affright thee with the view thereof.
Clif. And from thy burgonet I 'll rend thy bear,
And tread it under foot with all contempt,
Despite the bear-ward that protects the bear.
Y. Clif. And so to arms, victorious father,
To quell the rebels and their complices.
Rich. Fie! charity for shame! speak not in spite,
For you shall sup with Jesu Christ to-night.

202-207. *War. Now by my father's badge . . . thee . . . thereof*] 116-121. *War. Now by my father's age . . . the . . . thereof.* 208-210. *Clif. And . . . I 'll rend thy . . . it under foot . . . the bear*] 122-124. *Clif. And . . . will I rend the . . . him vnderfoote . . . him so.* 211, 212. *Y. Clif. And so . . . complices*] 125, 126. *Yoong Clif. And so renowned soueraigne to Armes, I quell these Traitors and their compleases.* 213, 214. *Rich. Fie! . . . speak not . . . Jesus . . . night*] *Richard. Fie, . . . Speake it not . . . Iesu . . . night.*

201. *household badge*] emblem of the family. The *Contention* is made use of here. The Folio reading is "housed badge" (F 1); "houses" (Ff 2, 3, 4).

203. *rampant bear . . . ragged staff*] See Whitney's *Emblems*, 1586 (ed. Greene, pp. 106, 107), for the device and a dedicatory poem "In praise of the two noble earles, Warwicke and Leycester," whose cognizance this was in his time. See note at IV. ix. 28-30, for Warwick's right. A passage in R. Harvey's *Plaine Percevall* is of interest here, since it throws light on the requirements of the staff: "It is good as a bearebayting for them which loue neither, to see either touze other so bedlamlike. Never a beadle sturring? nor bear-heard at hand to put his *staffe* in the mouth of the *beare*, or pull off these dogs? This will proue foule play." No wonder the staff was sturdy and ragged from its uses. This gives also another sense for the proverbial "Shall I set in my *staff?*" as peacemaker. For the heraldic bears again, see Part III. II. i. 15; V. vii. 9, 10.

204. *burgonet*] a close-fitting helmet —helmet and visor attached. Again in *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. v. 24. And in Golding's *Ovid:* "Peleus bare his strokes uppon his *burganet*" (xii. 408). And compare *Selimus* (ll. 1568-1569):—

"But we shall soone with our fine-tempered swords
Engraue our prowesse on their *burganets.*"

And see the same sentiment in *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 163. See too *Locrine*, II. i.:—

"I 'll meet young Albanact in the open field
And crack my lance upon his *burgonet*
To try the valour of his boyish strength."

205. *As on a mountain top the cedar shows*] Compare "Like to a ship," above, IV. ix. 32. The cedar is often brought in illustratively, but the usual figure is to the effect that low shrubs may outlive high cedars. See note at "Jove's tree" (oak), Part III. V. ii. 14.

210. *bear-ward*] The same as "bear-herd." Shakespeare uses both forms. See note above, l. 203.

Y. Clif. Foul stigmatic, that 's more than thou canst tell.
Rich. If not in heaven, you 'll surely sup in hell.

[*Exeunt severally.*

SCENE II.—*Saint Alban's.*

Alarums to the battle. Enter WARWICK.

War. Clifford of Cumberland, 'tis Warwick calls:
And if thou dost not hide thee from the bear,
Now, when the angry trumpet sounds alarum,
And dead men's cries do fill the empty air,
Clifford, I say, come forth and fight with me!
Proud northern lord, Clifford of Cumberland,
Warwick is hoarse with calling thee to arms.

Enter YORK.

How now, my noble lord! what! all afoot?

215, 216. *Y. Clif. Foul . . . that's . . . tell. Rich. If not . . . hell*] 129, 130. *Yoong Clif. Foule . . . thou canst not tell Rich. No, for if not . . . hell. Exet omnes.*

SCENE II.

1-7. *Alarums . . . War. Clifford . . . dost . . . when . . . trumpet . . . alarm . . . arms*] 9-19. *Alarme again, and Enter the Earle of Warwicke alone. War. Clifford . . . doest . . . whilst . . . trompets . . . Alarmes . . . arms. Clifford speakes within. Warwicke stand still, and view the way that Clifford hewes with his murthering Curtelaxe, through the fainting troopes to finde thee out* (prose). *Warwick stand still, and stir not till I come. Enter Yorke.* 8. *How . . . afoot?*] 20, 21. *How now my Lorde, what a foote? Who kild your horse?*

215. *stigmatic*] branded deformity. Greene, Harvey and Nashe all used the adjective "stigmatical" in this sense. Harvey has "*stigmaticall*, that is burnt with an hot iron" (Grosart, iii. 41, *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*). This is in reply to a passage of Nashe's about a "*stigmaticall* Master of Arts," in *Have with you*, etc. (Grosart, iii. 21). Greene speaks of "*stigmaticall* trulls" in a passage referring (inaccurately) to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* in *Menaphon* (vi. 84), 1589. Later the word was very commonly used. "Stigmatic" occurs again in *3 Henry VI.* II. ii. 136; and Craig quoted from *Robert, Earl of Huntington*, by Chettle and Munday (1600): "that prodigious bloody *stigmatic*" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, viii. 309). Drayton takes it from here into *England's Heroical Epistles* (King John to Matilda), 1597:—

"As hospitals were for the sore and sick,
These for the crook'd, the halt, the *stigmatick*."

SCENE II.

3. *sounds alarum*] Sounds the call to arms. Occurs again *1 Henry VI.* I. ii. 18, and above, II. iii. 95. More common as a stage-direction.

4. *dead men's cries*] dead before their cries travelled thus far. Shakespeare has "dead man" (or men) very often. But this line may be Peele's, and he means ghosts, as he often has them.

4. *cries . . . fill . . . air*] Compare Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 395):—

"troops of men . . .
That fill'd the air with cries and fearful noise."

And *Faerie Queene*:—

"a roaring hideous sound
That all the ayre with terror filled wyde,"

and elsewhere. See, too, Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. i.: "Fill all the air with troublous bellowing."

4. *empty air*] Spenser has a dragon "scourging the *emptie ayre* with his long trayne" (*Faerie Queene*, I. viii. 17).

8. *afoot*] on foot. Not the commonest

York. The deadly-handed Clifford slew my steed;
But match to match I have encountered him,
And made a prey for carrion kites and crows
Even of the bonny beast he loved so well.

Enter CLIFFORD.

War. Of one or both of us the time is come.
York. Hold, Warwick! seek thee out some other chase,
For I myself must hunt this deer to death.
War. Then, nobly, York; 'tis for a crown thou fight'st.
As I intend, Clifford, to thrive to-day,
It grieves my soul to leave thee unassailed. [*Exit.*
Clif. What seest thou in me, York? why dost thou pause?
York. With thy brave bearing should I be in love,
But that thou art so fast mine enemy.
Clif. Nor should thy prowess want praise and esteem,
But that 'tis shown ignobly and in treason.
York. So let it help me now against thy sword
As I in justice and true right express it.
Clif. My soul and body on the action both!
York. A dreadful lay! Address thee instantly.

9-12. *The . . . well*] 22-26. *The deadly hand of Clifford. Noble Lord. Fiue horse this day slaine vnder me, And yet braue Warwicke I remaine aliue, But I did kill his horse he lov'd so well, The boniest gray that ere was bred in North. Enter Clifford, and Warwicke offers to fight with him.* 13. *War. Of one . . . come*] omitted Q. 14, 15. *York. Hold . . . seek . . . For I myself . . . death*] 26, 27. *Hold . . . and seeke . . . Myselfe . . . death.* 16-18. *Then . . . 'tis . . . fight'st. As I . . . thrive . . . unassail'd*] 29-31. *Braue Lord, 'tis . . . fights, Clifford farewell, as I . . . prosper well . . . unassaild. Exet Warwicke.* 19-28. *Clif. What seest . . . œuvres*] 32-39. *Yorke. Now Clifford, since we are singled here alone, Be this the day of doome to one of vs, For now my heart hath sworne immortall hate To thee and all the house of Lancaster.*

sense of "in motion and action," in Shakespeare.

9. *the way that Clifford hews*] In Q. See note on this scene in Introduction.

9. *deadly-handed*] Compare "deadly-standing," *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 32. Altered from "the deadly hand," Q.

11. *prey for carrion kites and crows*] Peele has:—

"Away with him into the open fields
To be a ravening *prey for kites and crows*"

(*Old Wives Tale* (452, b)). See above, IV. x. 90. Peele has "preys of carrion" in *David and Bethsabe* (482, a).

12. *bonny beast*] A pity to have dropt the old northern line.

14, 15. *Hold . . . death*] These lines (from *Contention*) are repeated in *3 Henry VI.* II. iv. 11, 12, with "seek thee" altered to "single," and "deer" altered to "wolf." They are addressed there "Nay, Warwick," instead of "Hold, Warwick."

14. *chase*] game. Compare *Winter's Tale*, III. iii. 57. Craig quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Sea Voyage*, II. ii.:—

"Nor do I love hunting so,
But I had rather be the *chase* myself"

(hunted by her lover). *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from Turbervile's *Venerie* (1575): "And kill at force . . . hart, hind, and even *chase*."

20. *bearing*] behaviour. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 272.

27. *lay*] wager, stake. See *Othello*, II. iii. 330.

Clif. La fin couronne les œuvres.

[*They fight, and Clifford falls and dies.*

York. Thus war hath given thee peace, for thou art still.
Peace with his soul, heaven, if it be thy will! [*Exit.*

Enter Young CLIFFORD.

Y. Clif. Shame and confusion! all is on the rout:
Fear frames disorder, and disorder wounds
Where it should guard. O war, thou son of hell,
Whom angry heavens do make their minister,
Throw in the frozen bosoms of our part
Hot coals of vengeance! Let no soldier fly:
He that is truly dedicate to war
Hath no self-love; nor he that loves himself
Hath not essentially, but by circumstance,

Clifford. And here I stand, and pitch my foot to thine, Vowing neuer to stir, till thou or I be slaine, For neuer shall my heart be safe at rest, Till I haue spoyld the hatefull house of Yorke. Alarmes and they fight, and Yorke kils Clifford. 29-30. *York. Thus . . . will !*] 40-42. *Yorke. Now Lancaster sit sure, thy sinowes shrinke, Come fearfulle Henry grouelling on thy face, Yeeld vp thy Crowne vnto the Prince of Yorke. Exet Yorke. Alarmes, then enter yoong Clifford alone.* 31-40. *Y. Clif. Shame and . . . valour*] 43, 44. *Yoong Clifford. Father of Comberland, Where may I seeke my aged father forth ?*

28. *La fin . . . œuvres*] Finis coronat opus.—The end crowns the work. Compare Greene, *George-a-Greene:* "Nay, the end tries all, but so it will fall out" (Dyce, 1874, p. 261, b). "Th' end shall crown all" (Chapman's *Homer, Odyssey*, bk. v., edited 1875, p. 340, a). The first Folio reads, "Corrone les eumenes," to which Steevens says: "The *players* read: 'La fin corrone les eumenes.'" Why not printers? The death of Clifford is said to be "by the swords of common soldiers" in *3 Henry VI.* I. i. 9. The historical record is that he fell at St. Albans. But the circumstance here, afterwards overlooked, is consistent with young Clifford's vengeance later.

32. *frames*] forms, makes. "Frame" had a much more popular and extended use than now. Spenser and Peele use the verb very widely. Compare Golding's *Ovid:* "Love gave him power to *frame* His talke at will" (vi. 599, 600). And:—

"be content to *frame*
Thy selfe too him that loveth thee"

(adapt, fit), (xiv. 879, 880).

33. *O war, thou son of hell*] A favourite trope with Shakespeare. He has son of darkness, fortune, chivalry. Ben Jonson was very fond of it also, using son of slaughter, the sword, silence, earth, physic, noise. Lodge calls alchemists "*sons* of subtlety" in *A Fig for Momus*, 1595. Often paralleled in Eastern imagery in the Bible.

35, 36. *Throw in . . . coals of vengeance*] Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 27: "And love fresh *coles* unto her fire did lay." See a similar expression in *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 83, and Psalm 140, verse 10. In *Selimus* (Grosart, xiv. 201) occurs: "Nourish the *coales* of thine ambitious fire." A Biblical expression.

35. *part*] party, side, as below again, l. 87. Often in the historical plays, but not common at this time, though early.

37. *dedicate*] Compare *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 154. And Peele, *Anglorum Feriæ* (597, a), 1595:—

"all their lives
Right humbly were and purely *dedicate*"

("to whose worthiness").

39. *not essentially, but by circumstance*] not in his nature or essence, but as a mere contingent. The same meaning is found in *1 Henry IV.* II. iv. 540: "thou art *essentially* mad, without seeming so." And in *Hamlet*, III. iv. 187.

The name of valour. [*Seeing his dead father.*
O! let the vile world end,
And the premised flames of the last day
Knit earth and heaven together;
Now let the general trumpet blow his blast,
Particularities and petty sounds
To cease! Wast thou ordained, dear father,
To lose thy youth in peace, and to achieve
The silver livery of advised age,
And, in thy reverence and thy chair-days thus
To die in ruffian battle? Even at this sight
My heart is turned to stone: and while 'tis mine
It shall be stony. York not our old men spares;
No more will I their babes: tears virginal
Shall be to me even as the dew to fire;
And beauty, that the tyrant oft reclaims,
Shall to my flaming wrath be oil and flax.

40-61. *O let the vile world . . . Clifford's house*] 45-52. *O! dismall sight, see where he breathlesse lies, All smeard and weltred in his luke-warme blood, Ah, aged pillar of all Comberlands true house, Sweete father, to thy murthred ghoast I sweare, Immortall hate vnto the house of Yorke, Nor neuer shall I sleepe secure one night, Till I haue furiously reuengde thy death, And left not one of them to breath on earth. He takes him vp on his backe.*

41. *premised*] prearranged or pre-ordained. He asks to have them now; he doesn't say they have come (sent before their time), as the commentators have it, but that he wants them. The word is used in a formal sense by Marlowe, *Edward the Second* (208, b), in a letter: "My duty to your honour *premised*, etc., I have, according to instructions." Here it means understood and accepted.

44. *Particularities*] trifles, details, particulars. Occurs again in *Henry V.* III. ii. 142. Sidney uses it similarly near the end of the second book of *Arcadia*. Very frequent in Gabriel Harvey: "A fewe such *particularities* and distinctions compendiously and familiarly coursed over" (*Letters* (Grosart, i. 59), 1580).

47. *silver livery*] See "silver hair" above, v. i. 162 (note). Compare Gascoigne, *The Complaint of Philomene* (Arber, p. 102), 1576:—

"The heavens had whirld aboute
Twelve yeeres in order due,
And twelve times euery flowre and plant
Their *liveries* did renew."

"Livery" is frequently used figuratively by Shakespeare.

48. *chair-days*] Compare "the drooping chair," Part I. IV. v. 4, 5.

50, 51. *heart . . . stony*] See *2 Henry IV.* IV. v. 108; and *1 Henry IV.* II. ii. 28; "the *stony heart*," Ezekiel xi. 19.

51, 52. *old men . . . babes*] "this thred-bare name of good: Leave to *old men and babes* that kind of follie" (*Selimus*, ll. 178, 179, Grosart, xiv. 202).

52. *virginal*] Occurs again in *Coriolanus* and *Pericles*. Shakespeare was indebted perhaps to Spenser for it:—

"Where gentle court and gracious delight
Shee to them made with mildnesse virginall"

(*Faerie Queene*, II. ix. 20). Nares quoted this. "Virginal" was in earlier use (Levins, 1570) of a musical instrument. And *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 10: "chastity and honour *virginall*."

55. *oil and flax*] In the omitted scene or lines about London bridge being afire in the last Act (Scene vii.) the words "fetch pitch and flaxe to squench it" may have dwelt in Shakespeare's mind. Setting "fire and flax" together is in Greene, Nicholas Breton and Dekker. Heywood has it "fire and tow" (*Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 127).

Henceforth I will not have to do with pity:
Meet I an infant of the house of York,
Into as many gobbets will I cut it
As wild Medea young Absyrtus did:
In cruelty will I seek out my fame.
Come, thou new ruin of old Clifford's house:
As did Æneas old Anchises bear,
So bear I thee upon my manly shoulders;
But then Æneas bare a living load,
Nothing so heavy as these woes of mine.
[*Exit, bearing off his father.*

Enter RICHARD *and* SOMERSET *to fight.* SOMERSET *is killed.*

Rich. So, lie thou there;
For underneath an alehouse' paltry sign,
The Castle in Saint Alban's, Somerset

62-65. *As did . . . woes of mine*] 53-61. *And thus as old Ankyses sonne did beare His aged father on his manly backe, And fought with him against the bloodie Greeks, Euen so will I. But staie, heres one of them, To whom my soull hath sworne immortall hate. Enter Richard, and then Clifford laies downe his father, fights with him, and Richard flies away againe. Out crooktbacke villaine, get thee from my sight, But I will after thee, and once againe When I haue borne my father to his Tent, Ile trie my fortune better with thee yet. Exet yoong Clifford with his father.* 66-71. *Enter Richard . . . Richard. So, lie thou there; . . . princes kill.*] *Alarmes to the battaile, and then enter the Duke of*

58. *gobbets*] See IV. i. 85 (note). Nowhere else in Shakespeare. Mouthfuls, lumps. For Clifford's oath of revenge here (and in Q) see Part III. I. i. 9, 55; and I. iii. 5.

59. *Medea . . . Absyrtus*] When Medea fled with Jason from Colchos, she murdered her brother Absyrtus, and cut his body into several pieces, that her father might for some time be prevented from pursuing her. See *Ovid, Trist.*, lib. III. ix. 25-28 (Malone). The Folios read Absirtis; corrected by Theobald. Not in Q. A considerable number of these classical illustrations have occurred, and more follow. But in this speech depicting the horrors of civil war, the manner in which real human tragedy is suggested as compared with the lakes of blood and the unchained furies of hell of contemporary poets, Shakespeare makes a noble departure.

62. *Æneas old Anchises bear*] Repeated in *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 112.

63. *my manly shoulders*] Hardly improved from "his manly back" (*Contention*).

68. *Castle at Saint Alban's*] See Jourdain's prediction at the end of Act I.: "Let him shun Castles." For the preliminaries to this battle, see note at IV. ix. 28-30. Continued from there (p. 653) Grafton says: "The King . . . assembled an host, intendyng to mete with the Duke in the North part, because he had so many friendes about the Citie of London, and . . . accompanied with the Dukes of Sommerset and Buckingham, the Erles of Stafford, Northumberland, and Wiltshire, with the Lord Clifford, and diuers other Barons, departed out of Westminster, the XX. day of May toward the towne of Saint Albones: of whose doynges the Duke of Yorke beyng advertysed by his espials, with all his power coasted the Countries, and came to the same towne, the third day next ensuyng . . . While King Henry more desyrous of peace than of warre, was sendyng forth his Orators, at the one ende of the towne: the Erle of Warwike with the Marchemen, entered at the other ende of the towne and fiercely set on the kinges forwarde, and them shortly discomfited. Then came the Duke of Sommerset . . . with

Hath made the wizard famous in his death.
Sword, hold thy temper; heart, be wrathful still:
Priests pray for enemies, but princes kill. [*Exit.*

Fight. Excursions. Enter KING, QUEEN, *and others.*

Queen. Away, my lord! you are slow: for shame, away!
King. Can we outrun the heavens? good Margaret, stay.
Queen. What are you made of? you 'll nor fight nor fly;
Now is it manhood, wisdom, and defence,
To give the enemy way, and to secure us
By what we can, which can no more but fly.
[*Alarum afar off.*
If you be ta'en, we then should see the bottom
Of all our fortunes; but if we haply 'scape,
As well we may, if not through your neglect,
We shall to London get, where you are loved,
And where this breach now in our fortunes made
May readily be stopped.

Somerset and Richard fighting, and Richard kils him vnder the signe of the castle in Saint Albones. Rich. So Lie thou there, and breathe thy last. What's here, the signe of the Castle? Then the prophesie is come to passe, For Somerset was forewarned of Castles, The which he alwaies did obserue. And now behold, vnder a paltry Ale-house signe, The Castle in saint Albones, Somerset hath . . . by his death (l. 69 in text). 72. *Fight. . . . Queen. Away, my lord! . . . away!*] 62-64. *Alarmes againe, and then enter three or foure, bearing the Duke of Buckingham wounded to his Tent. Alarmes still, and then enter the King and Queene. Queene. Away, my Lord, and flie to London straight, Make hast, for vengeance comes along with them, come stand not to expostulate, lets go.* 73. *King. Can we . . . stay*] 65-67. *Come then faire Queene to London let vs hast, And summon a Parliament with speede To stop the fury of these dyre euents. Exet King and Queene.* 74-83. *Queene.*

the kinges power, which fought a sore and cruell battaile . . . the kinges army was overthrowne . . . there dyed under the signe of the Castel, Edmond Duke of Sommerset, who long before was warned to eschew all Castelles, and besyde him, lay Henry the Second Erle of Northumberlande, Humfrey Erle of Stafford sonne to the Duke of Buckingham, Iohn Lord Clifford, and viij thousand men and more. Humpfrey Duke of Buckingham . . . and Iames Butler Erle of Wilshire and Ormond seyng Fortunes lowryng chaunce, left the King post alone, and with a great number fled away. This was the ende of the first battaile at Saint Albones which was fought on the Thursday before the feast of Pentecost, beyng the XXIIJ. day of May. In this XXXIIJ. yere of the kinges reigne."

71. *Priests . . . kill*] See on this line, in Introduction, at Peele.

72. *come stand not to expostulate, lets goe*] In Q. See *3 Henry VI.* II. v. 135, where this line is used.

73. *outrun*] escape from; as in the expression "outrun the constable," which occurs in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* at the beginning of Act v. (*ante* 1593). See *3 Henry VI.* I. ii. 14.

74. *nor fly*] The queen's words here in the *Contention*, "stand not to expostulate," occur in Part III. II. v. 135 (note). Peele uses the word.

76. *secure us*] make ourselves safe. See *Cymbeline*, IV. iv. 8.

78, 79. *bottom of all our fortunes*] Compare *1 Henry IV.* IV. i. 50. A thoroughly Shakespearian passage, like the rest of the speech. Note the rhythm and the running on in the lines.

82, 83. *breach . . . stopped*] See above, III. i. 288.

Re-enter Young CLIFFORD.

Y. Clif. But that my heart 's on future mischief set,
I would speak blasphemy ere bid you fly;
But fly you must: uncurable discomfit
Reigns in the hearts of all our present parts.
Away, for your relief! and we will live
To see their day and them our fortune give.
Away, my lord, away! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*Fields near Saint Alban's.*

Alarum. Retreat. Enter YORK, RICHARD, WARWICK, *and Soldiers, with drum and colours.*

York. Of Salisbury, who can report of him?
That winter lion, who in rage forgets

What are . . . stopp'd] omitted Q. 83-90. *Re-enter . . . Y. Clif. But that . . . away!*] omitted Q.

Scene III.

Alarum . . . 1-7. *York. Of Salisbury . . . be lost*] *Alarmes, and then a flourish, and enter the Duke of Yorke and Richard.* 68-75. *Yorke. How*

86. *uncurable*] See above, III. i. 286. Later, in Shakespeare, the word is "incurable." "In Shakespeare" is said here on purpose, since it is easy to see the revisionary hand in this scene. Clifford (young) and the queen belong to Shakespeare, with a few lines, very few, of the old play left standing. Young Clifford's first speech is a notable instance. In the *Contention* (which is mainly Peele's) Spenser is recalled. Peele, after the appearance of the *Faerie Queene*, became imbued with it. We find "Grovelling on thy face"; see I. ii. 9, and I. iv. 14 (notes); and *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 45, and III. i. 38. "Thy sinewes shrink" (nowhere in Shakespeare); Peele has "Alas, my veins are numb'd, my sinews shrink" (*Old Wives Tale* (457, a)); Spenser has "shrunken synewes of her chosen knight" (*Faerie Queene*, I. ix. 20). "He breathless lies"; Peele has "Breathless he lies and headless too my lord" (*Edward the First* (409, b)). "Smear'd and weltred in his lukewarme blood." "Smeared . . . in blood" only in *3 Henry VI.* v. ii. 23; in Golding and in *Selimus* (Greene's part) it is "besmeared." "Wallow'd in his owne yet lukewarme blood" (*Faerie Queene*, I. ix. 36). "Weltered" is not in Shakespeare, but "weltered in his blood" is twice in Golding's *Ovid* (Moring's reprint, pp. 65, 145), constantly followed by Peele. He has "weltering waves" (Prologue to *Sir Clyomon*), and "lukewarm spring distilling from his eyes" (*Edward the First* (413, a)). "Furiously" is not in Shakespeare; it is in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* (426, a): "he furiously implores Sebastian's aid." The alteration in structure here is remarkable. In the *Contention* young Clifford makes a final speech, fighting, with his father sometimes up, and sometimes down, and that is the last of him. It seems much more seemly to let him depart with his burthen and re-enter for his final speech, which has no parallel in the *Contention*. The transposition of the prophecy, which is by no means dignified enough to open a scene (as it does in Q), is also striking. Peele put those lines there; they are curtailed and postponed here.

87. *parts*] See above, line 35.

89. *give*] display, from the heraldic sense. Unless the passage means "live to see our fortune give them their day."

Scene III.

1. *Of Salisbury*] As has been often the case, the opening of the scene is Shakespeare's. In the *Contention* speech occurs the adjective "faint-heart" (in Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II.), and "buckle with" (fight with), see Part I. I. ii. 97. "Buckle to fight" occurs twice in the first book of *Faerie Queene*, meaning made ready to fight; a different but interwoven sense.

Aged contusions and all brush of time,
And, like a gallant in the brow of youth,
Repairs him with occasion? This happy day
Is not itself, nor have we won one foot,
If Salisbury be lost.

Rich. My noble father,
Three times to-day I holp him to his horse,
Three times bestrid him; thrice I led him off,
Persuaded him from any further act:
But still, where danger was, still there I met him;
And like rich hangings in a homely house,
So was his will in his old feeble body.
But, noble as he is, look where he comes.

now boyes, fortunate this fight hath bene, I hope to vs and ours, for Englands good, And our great honour, that so long we lost, While faint-heart Henry did vsurpe our rights. But did you see old Salsbury, since we, With bloodie minds did buckle with the foe, I would not for the losse of this right hand, That ought but well betide that good old man. 7-14. *Rich. My noble . . . he comes*] 76-81. *Rich. My lord, I saw him in the thickest throng, Charging his Lance with his old weary armes, And thrise I saw him beaten from his horse, And thrise this hand did set him up againe, And still*

3. *contusions*] bruises. The earliest example in *New Eng. Dict.* of the word meaning "the act of contusion."

3. *brush of time*] Compare *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 264; and "brushes of war," *Troilus and Cressida*, v. iii. 34. Bruises, rubs. Ben Jonson uses brush = blow, *New Inn*, III. ii.

4. *brow of youth*] Schmidt says aspect, appearance, as in "*brow* of justice" (*1 Henry IV.* IV. iii. 83); and "*brows* of grace" (*Macbeth*, IV. iii. 23). Steevens takes "top of youth" to be the sense, as in the brow of a hill. Compare "*brow* of night" (*King John*, v. i. 49). Several changes suggested.

7. *Salisbury be lost*] The speech by York in *Contention*, that this one replaces, is of interest. Who wrote it? It contains Greene's "buckle with," but Shakespeare uses that several times in these plays—not later. It contains the adjective *faint-heart* found in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. (1590), and often in *Locrine*. But the line of "for the loss of this right hand" is like Shakespeare; see *3 Henry VI.* II. vi. 80. There is none of Marlowe's bounce. The expression "good old man" delighted Shakespeare, he uses it with gusto many a time. I believe it is Shakespeare's; and very poetically rewritten by him. The scene seems to me by Peele and Shakespeare in *Contention*, or by Peele alone. And rewritten by Shakespeare here, as is usually the case in important positions, such as the opening or closing of an Act, or even a prominent scene.

8, 9. *Three times . . . Three times . . . thrice*] Not much differing from *Contention's* "And thrise . . . And thrise." Compare *Henry V.* IV. vi. 4. Much in the descriptive style of the *Faerie Queene* (I. vii. 24):—

"*Thrise* did she sinke adowne in deadly swownde,
And *thrise* he her revived with busie paine."

In the same speech "charging his lance" is not Shakespearian. Peele has—

"as if some angry man of war
Had charged his lance"

(*Anglorum Feriæ* (597, a)). And a few lines below "bud" is used in a non-Shakespearian sense. Compare "fresh budd of vertue" in *Faerie Queene*, I. viii. 27 (to a person). "Bud" is drawn in with canker, to a similar use in *King John*, III. iv. 82. For "thickest throng" see Part III. II. i. 13 (note). "Remainder of my weary life" is paralleled only in *Titus Andronicus*, III. i. 132.

9. *bestrid him*] strode over him to defend him. See *Comedy of Errors*, v. i. 192, and *Coriolanus*, II. ii. 96. Earlier in this sense in North's *Plutarch* (*New Eng. Dict.*).

Enter SALISBURY.

Sal. Now, by my sword, well hast thou fought to-day;
By the mass, so did we all. I thank you, Richard:
God knows how long it is I have to live;
And it hath pleased him that three times to-day
You have defended me from imminent death.
Well, lords, we have not got that which we have:
'Tis not enough our foes are this time fled,
Being opposites of such repairing nature.
York. I know our safety is to follow them;
For, as I hear, the king is fled to London,
To call a present court of parliament:
Let us pursue him ere the writs go forth.
What says Lord Warwick? shall we after them?
War. After them! nay, before them, if we can.
Now, by my faith, lords, 'twas a glorious day:
Saint Alban's battle, won by famous York,
Shall be eternized in all age to come.
Sound drums and trumpets! and to London all:
And more such days as these to us befall!

[*Exeunt.*

he fought with courage gainst his foes, The boldest sprited man that ere mine eyes beheld. Enter Salsbury and Warwicke. 15-22. *Sal. Now, by my . . . nature*] 82-88. *Edward. See noble father, where they both do come, The only props vnto the house of Yorke. Sals. Well hast thou fought this day, thou valiant Duke, And thou braue bud of Yorkes encreasing house, The small remainder of my weary life, I hold for thee, for with thy warlike arme, Three times this day thou hast preseru'd my life.* 23-27. *York. I know . . . the . . . London . . . What . . . them?*] 89-91. *Yorke. What say you Lords, the . . . London? There as I here to hold a Parliament. What . . . them?* 28-33. *War. After them! . . . Alban's . . . eterniz'd . . . befall!*] 92-97. *War. After them . . . Albones . . . eternest . . . befall. Exet omnes.*

22. *opposites . . . nature*] foes with such power of recovery.

31. *eternized*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare, but in Spenser, Greene, Peele, Marlowe, Kyd, Nashe and Harvey earlier. Spenser has "to be eternized" in *Faerie Queene*, I. x. 59. The earliest in *New Eng. Dict.* is "Countess of Pembroke (1580)." Perhaps introduced by Gabriel Harvey, and adopted by every one excepting Shakespeare. It occurs very near the beginning of Sidney's *Arcadia:* "mankinde by all means seeking to *eternize* himself so much the more as he is near his end."

32. *Sound drums and trumpets*] Several times again in Part III. and in *Richard III.* Compare (Peele and Greene's) *Locrine*, I. i.: *Sound drums and trumpets:* march to Troynovant."

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